Daily Report

East Europe

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Spokesman Rebuts Criticism of Alia Visits Abroad

AU2310163891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Mr. Bashkim Hoxha, spokesman of the President of the Republic's Press and Information Office, held a news conference this morning for journalists from the national press, ATA, the radio and television, and foreign journalists present in our country. Officials of the diplomatic corps accredited to Tirana also attended.

Mr. Bashkim Hoxha spoke about the results of the visits of Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic of Albania, to Turkey and Italy, which were for the sake of the inexorable development of democracy in Albania, full support for the reforms in the direction of a market economy, regional stability and peace, and the solution of the problem of the Albanians in Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia.

He stressed, among other things, that, taking a cue from some statements made in the legislature in connection with President Alia's visits to Turkey and Italy, it must be emphasized that there was nothing suspicious in the goals of these visits to Turkey and Italy. The crux of President Alia's talks with the highest officials of the two countries was concern for the inexorable progress of democracy in our country and the international situation. The only suspicions are raised by the insinuations of certain political forces and their personal sympathies or antipathies, or the aims of specific groups, which lead them to make partial judgments or to think in the same way as in the time of Albania's international isolation, a time when the visit of a high-level personality abroad was viewed with jealousy and provincialism, and with symbolic implications.

The world, which is free of such complexes, and the two presidents of these friendly countries themselves appreciated these visits as very fruitful for Albania and the regional political climate, and they resulted in great help for the process of democratic developments and economic reform in our country. The fact that the president of the Republic has involved himself in such issues is, for any democratic and progressive person, not only normal but also an expression of society's total commitment to these matters. Democratic culture has its courtesies, involving respect for political personalities who have been legitimately elected by a legitimate legislature. However, this culture cannot be acquired overnight. I believe that we are all aware that it requires great efforts and a major struggle for emancipation to set aside monist judgments, in which a leader's personal preferences for individuals are confused with institutions.

So true is this that the Radio-Television censored from all of the ATA reports of Mr. Dumas's visit to our country the appreciation Mr. Dumas expressed to President Alia for the democratic processes in Albania, and Radio Tirana censored both sides' assessment of the question of Kosovo. To return to the visits to Turkey and Italy, a dispassionate analysis cannot fail to notice the president's total commitment to the faster development of democratic processes in Albania, to reactivating the Albanian economy by seeking support for the reform and the transition to a market economy, and to regional issues, especially respect for the legitimate rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia. I think that no political force bearing the label of democracy can imagine that this commitment represents a sellout of the national cause, and so forth. On the contrary, it would be normal to consider any malevolent insinuation or attempt to disparage or minimize the importance of the successes achieved during these talks, which would contradict the opinions expressed by the presidents and press of the host countries themselves, to be anti-Albanian and antidemocratic.

Mr. Bashkim Hoxha then answered the questions of those attending the news conference, the report sent by ATA concludes.

Police Disperse Students in Pristina

AU2310192891 Pristina BUJKU in Albanian 17 Oct 91 p 4

[Report by S. Rexhepi and Y. Avdiu: "Teachers Thrown Out, Students Chased"]

[Text] Students of the colleges and faculties of the University of Kosovo set out again for their classes yesterday in response to the appeal of the Kosovo Coordinating Council for Education. However, the faculties' imposed management, in cooperation with the Serbian police, again refused to let classes proceed in a way worthy of an academic institution. In some faculties, such as the Medical Faculty, the doors were closed to Albanian students, while armed policemen took up positions in front of most other faculties, checking the identities of students and teachers!

There was a tense atmosphere everywhere at the University of Kosovo. In the overwhelming majority of faculties, the numbers of teachers still not dismissed can be counted on one's fingers, so that, even where students were allowed to enter the classrooms, there was no one to teach them. Several hundred students gathered in front of the Philology Faculty and the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences. The students included very few teachers because dismissed teachers are not allowed to enter the faculties, while the remaining teachers waited for their students in the classrooms. However, it seems there was a lack of coordination because the students simply did not know what to do. There was almost the same scene in front of the Law Faculty, and students said that, even if they were to enter the faculty, there would be no one to teach them because the overwhelming majority of teachers have been dismissed from their jobs.

The students remained quietly in front of the doors of the Philology Faculty, but even this dignified behavior annoyed the Serbian police. At 1035, armed policemen

turned to the students and asked them to disperse within five minutes. As soon as the students began to disperse, the whole square in front of the faculty was filled with Serbian policemen, who chased the students in the direction of the city. The students paraded down the main street of Pristina, but always under the surveillance of the Serbian police, who paraded up and down the street with cars and Pinzgauers to prevent the obstruction of traffic and to keep the parade from becoming a mass protest.

The Serbian police also intervened in the Medical Faculty at 0930. They ordered the students to disperse and beat one of them. They also dispersed the students of the Law and Economics Faculties.

Yesterday revealed all the consequences of the violence that Serbia is waging against Albanian-language education. This was also shown by the visit of the Serbia's Kosovo education bosses, who arrived in a state of horrible delight at the Philology Faculty, led by Radivoje Papovic and Miodrag Djuricic. They were overjoyed at their destruction of Albanian-language instruction and the fulfillment of their aim to extinguish it entirely. They held a meeting in the Philology Faculty's hall, and, while they were celebrating, the police intervened outside. Can these people be called educational officials, and, above all, can they be called teachers, when they use the police to prevent classes, and, on the other hand, provide Serbian and Montenegrin students and their teachers every facility for regular study? Can they be proud when their faculty is guarded by armed police against a quiet crowd of people who want nothing but to continue their studies and do not breach public order in any way?

More than 520 Albanian teachers and assistants have been dismissed from the University of Kosovo. This means that it is impossible to start the academic year because all teachers have been dismissed from some faculties, and about 80 percent from others. There is no precedent for this uncalled-for violence and discrimination in any other university of the world. The Serbian leadership cannot hide behind its "compromise," according to which only first-year students are barred from studying while others may continue, because the daily dismissals of university teachers contradict this. For this reason, the restoration of the University of Kosovo's autonomy, the reinstatement of all its teachers, and the enrollment of students according to the regular competition announced by the University Assembly are the irrevocable demands of Albanian students and teachers and are a precondition for the successful start of the academic year. Sooner or later, the Serbs will be forced to accept this reality.

Puke Rally Supports District General Strike

AU2310160291 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Our Puke correspondent, Rrok Lencaj, reports that the Union of Independent Trade Unions in the district and the Strike Committee organized a large peaceful rally in the town of Puke today. Binak Selimi, chairman of the Strike Committee, announced that the general strike in Puke, which has now entered its fifth day, will not end before all of the demands of the petition addressed to the National Stability Government are met, item by item.

Sami Kariqi, chairman of the Independent Trade Union of Albanian Miners and Geologists, said that, if no government representatives come to Puke by 26 October to discuss a definitive solution to the district's grievances, all of the country's miners and geologists will announce a general strike.

The district's other trade unions and representatives of the opposition political parties also greeted the rally. Viktor Kola, chairman of the district's Union of Independent Trade Unions, repeated the demand that Puke District should be declared a free zone, with absolute economic priority.

Petition Demands Rights for Peasantry

AU2310210891 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 16 Oct 91 p 1

[Petition to the National Stability Government, the People's Assembly, and President Ramiz Alia from the Organizing Commission of the Union of Albanian Agrarian Cooperatives: "For Fair Treatment of the Peasantry"]

[Text] The Union of Albanian Agrarian Cooperatives [Bashkimi i Kooperuesve Agrare te Shqiperise], a sociopolitical organization for the rights of the peasantry, notes with regret that the National Stability Government and the pluralist district and local authorities are not solving the countryside's disturbing problems on time. The economic reform began in the countryside, but its implementation has not been given comprehensive support. This has exacerbated the economic situation and harmed the interests of the peasantry, who feel virtually abandoned. Many villages and regions are worried about delays in land distribution and in the fall planting. They are worried about supplies of bread, water, and agricultural machinery; about the damage and distribution of the property of the cooperatives; and about social assistance and security.

Our organization, legitimately expressing and defending the peasantry's rights and interests, demands:

1. The supply, baking, and sale of bread to the best possible quality and in quantity, which is the most vital and disturbing issue in the countryside, should not be privatized but taken in hand immediately by the government as a state service, as in the towns.

2. Obstacles to the completion of the distribution of land should be eliminated at once by government decrees or amendments to the Land Law, so that disagreements between villages may be settled at once and the needs of

families with little land may be met with land from the agricultural enterprises, pastureland, woodland, and so forth.

3. Work for the fall planting should be guaranteed by the machinery of the tractor stations at fixed state tariffs and with delayed payments, according to the Agriculture Ministry's instruction. The tractor stations' abuses involving the illegal and much higher private tariffs imposed until now must be stopped and condemned at once. The tractor stations' tariffs and the prices of chemical fertilizers and seeds for the countryside should be no higher than before privatization.

4. The tractor stations' existing machinery should not be privatized, which would exploit the peasantry, but transferred free to the ownership of groups of peasant families because it has already been paid for by the high tariffs imposed until now. Suitable machinery should be imported and given to groups of families on long-term credit.

5. Agricultural cooperatives should be forgiven their unpaid debts.

6. Unpaid loans between cooperatives negotiated through the Agricultural Bank should be returned by the lending bank.

7. The Agricultural Bank should immediately open regional branches and give long-term and low-interest credit for the purchase of tools, equipment, and materials, and for investment in production.

8. Fiscal policy should stimulate higher production and prosperity in the countryside. Taxes should not be imposed for between two and five years, according to region, and taxes thereafter should be preferential.

9. Debts to the countryside (owed by the state and society because of the state's high accumulation quotas, procurement prices below the value of the produce, and so forth) must be repaid to the countryside through fiscal policy, basic investments in production, the supply of drinking water to families, the repair of roads and village amenities, communal and sociocultural services, and so forth.

10. Unemployed specialists of the former agricultural cooperatives should be reemployed, and peasant families without incomes should be placed on social assistance immediately.

11. The difference between the towns and the countryside, which is supplied with as little as one-quarter of the towns' supplies of staple goods such as sugar, rice, paraffin, soap, and so forth, must be eliminated immediately.

12. The part of the aid from foreign countries that is due to the countryside should be distributed fairly, especially in regions with inadequate incomes.

13. Cooperativists should be given equal pension rights to workers, as regards both retirement age and size of pension (because there has been no economic reason for the difference up until now). The relevant documents of the former cooperatives should be deposited with the people's councils for this purpose.

14. Social insurance for maternity, invalidity, and so forth should be established in the countryside.

15. The peasantry should be compensated for the damage caused by:

a) the loss of the spring planting because of the lack of fuel during the strikes.

b) the failure of the tractor stations to carry out the plowing between July and October, according to the Agriculture Ministry's order.

c) the tractor stations' illegal high tariffs.

16. Buildings of high value should be bought by the state (that is, storehouses, cowsheds, supply bases for agriculture to be turned into retail outlets for the relevant materials, houses of culture, sports facilities, and so forth) and the cash proceeds distributed among peasant families.

17. Large production units such as greenhouses should not be privatized by auction but sold to groups of families, also on credit.

18. The State Control Commission and other organs, including the organs of justice:

a) should inspect and investigate abuses in the distribution of the property of cooperatives (in valuations, the storing and removal of all kinds of goods in warehouses, and so forth), and those responsible should be called to account legally and materially.

b) should inspect and investigate the arbitrary behavior of the bank and of managers in the districts and the cooperatives involving security funds, foreign currency funds, and so forth belonging to the agricultural cooperatives; those who instructed or committed such harmful and illegal acts should be held to account legally and materially.

c) should call to account, legally and materially, those leaders of political forces who have called for the destruction of the property of the cooperatives, as inciters of and collaborators with destructive forces.

We are determined not only to stabilize the country but also to achieve fair treatment for all strata of society, including the peasantry, who are the majority of the population.

We are in favor of democratic dialogue and the use of all democratic and legal means to achieve the fulfillment of these demands.

Further Reportage on Zhelev Visit to Moscow

Zhelev, Yeltsin Sign Declaration

AU2310164291 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Our Borislav Dzhamdzhiev reported from Moscow that today at 1600 at the Kremlin's Vladimir Hall, Boris Yeltsin, Russian president, and Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, Bulgarian president, signed a joint declaration regulating the political relations between the two countries.

Five minutes later, Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev and Andrey Kozyrev, Russian foreign minister, signed a special protocol on establishing diplomatic relations between our states at the level of embassies.

Many Western reporters attended the ceremony, at which two additional documents were signed: an agreement on trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation and an intergovernmental agreement on the payments between Bulgaria and Russia until the end of 1991.

During the news conference following the ceremony, Boris Yeltsin, Russian president, pointed out that the first deliveries to Bulgaria in accordance with the list that has been approved will be implemented at the beginning of November.

Talks, Agreements Reported

AU2310194691 Sofia BTA in English 1912 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Sofia, October 23 (BTA)—Bulgaria's President Zhelyu Zhelev and the president of the Russian Federation, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, signed a declaration in Moscow today on the principles of future development of Bulgarian-Russian relations.

A protocol was signed on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Russia. Intergovernmental agreements on economic and commercial relations, on scientific and technological cooperation and on payments were also signed.

At an extraordinary meeting the Bulgarian Government decided on the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Russian Federation.

This morning President Zhelyu Zhelev met Soviet intellectuals: Ms. Yelena Bonner, the widow of Acad. Sakharov, Acad. Dmitriy Likhachev, expert in Slavonic studies, writer Yuriy Chernichenko, historian Yuriy Afanasyev, poet Bulat Okudzhava. This is the last day of President Zhelev's three-day visit to Moscow. [passage omitted]

No Meeting With Gorbachev

AU2310202991 Sofia BTA in English 2004 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, October 23 (BTA)—The relations between Bulgaria and Russia will develop on the basis of the universally accepted norms of international law, respecting the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutually advantageous cooperation, it is pointed out in the political declaration signed today by the president of Bulgaria, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, and the president of Russia, Mr. Boris Yeltsin.

Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mr. Andrey Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, signed a protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two republics at embassy level.

Intergovernmental agreements on trade and economic contacts, scientific and technological cooperation and on payments were also signed.

According to sources close to the Bulgarian president, in the updated agreement on commercial exchange, which will now exceed 300 million dollars, Russia promises to deliver 1 million tons of crude to Bulgaria in exchange for foods.

Mr. Boris Yeltsin assessed the visit by the Bulgarian president as a "historic event." The first visit this century by a Bulgarian head of state to the sovereign Russian state as a subject of international law, he said.

At the press conference which he gave with Dr. Zhelev, Mr. Yeltsin described Dr. Zhelev as "man of great integrity, a rare quality and an extremely valuable one in politics." He recalled that the Bulgarian president was one of the first who called him on the fateful August 19.

In his turn the Bulgarian president pointed out that Mr. Boris Yeltsin's firm stand during the coup made it possible for the people to realize the real situation and to prevent events similar to those in Yugoslavia today.

Mr. Yeltsin informed of the official invitation he had received to visit Bulgaria and said that the two sides plan to sign an interstate agreement in Sofia in January.

The TASS correspondents asked the Bulgarian president why he had not met Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev when such a meeting was envisaged in the preliminary schedule of the visit. But Mr. Boris Yeltsin answered this question first. He pointed out that the visit of President Zhelev was at his invitation. The schedule of the visit did not "envisage" but "reserved time" for a meeting with Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev. "I talked with the president, the conjunction of circumstances was such that this did not happen." The Russian president said that "this issue should not be dramatized by the mass media." According to Yeltsin the visit is yet another proof of Bulgaria's respect for Russia, for her independence and

sovereignty as a subject of international law. "Now the relations between Bulgaria and Russia can develop fredy, on an equal basis and more dynamically, Mr. Yeltsin said.

The Bulgarian president agreed with Mr. Yeltsin's words.

Visit 'Extremely Fruitful'

AU2310205091 Sofia BTA in English 2016 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 23 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev described his visit to Moscow as extremely fruitful. "It surpassed all our expectations. The most important thing is that this is the first meeting between thehead of state of independent Bulgaria and the head of state of Russia after Bulgaria's liberation from the Ottoman domination," he said.

Dr Zhelev paid special attention to the declaration he and Russia's President Boris Yeltsin signed. It is to serve as a basis for a bilateral treaty between Bulgaria and the Russian Federation which is expected to be signed by the end of this year. Dr. Zhelev also pointed out the signing of three economic agreements which practically deblock economic relations between Bulgaria and the Russian Federation, stagnant for some time now. Under those agreements, by the end of this year Bulgaria is to receive 1 million tonnes of crude oil against delivery of meat and canned food on a barter basis. This is advantageous for both countries as neither of them disposes of dollars at the moment, Dr. Zhelev explained.

He described the protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and the Russian Federation as a considerable political achievement.

As regards his meeting with Soviet President Gorbachev which did not take place, Dr. Zhelev said that it had been scheduled in the program but the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs failed to coordinate it. "They suggested a time when I was giving Mr. Yeltsin a reception at the Bulgarian Embassy," he explained.

[Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian at 2030 GMT on 23 October carries an abbreviated version of Zhelev's statement on his visit to Russia, and adds: "This evening Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev returned to Bulgaria."]

Disagreement About Origin of Arms Shipment

BTA Says Ship Loaded in Italy

AU2310195691 Sofia BTA in English 1820 GMT 23 Oct 91

["Greek Cypriot Ship Was Freighted in Italy—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 23 (BTA)—The Cypriot Greek ship, which was arrested in the Bosphorus yesterday morning with over 2,000 cases of arms and 4 tonnes of chemical substances used in drug production on board, [words indistinct] in Burgas, Mr. Khristo Kraychev, chief of the Interior Ministry Press Centre, told BTA. The Bulgarian side was not aware of what cargo the ship had on board.

The shipping documentation on the additionally freighted cargo is being checked with the assistance of Bulgarian Customs authorities.

The Turkish television reported that the documentation which was accompanying the cargo did not indicate the consignee and the crew was not unanimous about its final destination. According to the Turkish television, the vessel which was transiting through the Bosphorus was captured after a tip off. This is one of the largest ever intercepted cases of smuggling in the region.

Goverment: Cargo Loaded in Burgas

AU2310195991 Sofia BTA in English 1925 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 23 (BTA)—In connection with the reports in the mass media about the Turkish authorities arresting a ship in the Bosphorus which was smuggling weapons and was loaded at the Burgas Port, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations made the following statement for the BTA:

"The ship called Cape Maleas was loaded in the Port of Burgas in implementation of an intergovernmental agreement. This is not a case of smuggled export but most probably of some misunderstanding between the Turkish authorities and the captain of the ship which we hope will be settled soon. As regards the "chemical substances" on board the ship the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations declares that no such cargo was loaded in Burgas."

BSP Holds First Plenum as Opposition Party

AU2410074391 Sofia BTA in English 2105 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 23 (BTA)—Today's plenum discussed no changes in the leadership although there had been demands for Aleksandur Lilov's resignation. In case the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] holds its regular congress in mid-December, the resignation of Mr. Lilov and the entire Presidium will be required by the statute. Mr. Lilov's most probable successor is Mr. Aleksandur Tomov.

In his statement BSP leader Aleksandur Lilov described the election results as a reflection of the popular vote. He spoke of the practical difficulties and problems arising from the new position of the BSP as the second political power deprived of participation in executive authorities. His general assessment of the elections was that the BSP achieved the possible maximum under the existing conditions, inside Bulgaria and after the coup attempt in Moscow and the BSP's reaction to it. Mr. Andrey

Lukanov, who is considered by both radicals and hardliners to be No. 2 in the BSP regardless of his resignation as deputy chairman of the Supreme Council in August, also spoke of threats to the party.

No decision on the party's property and its headquarters in Sofia can be expected before the congress. Radicals say that everyone has put up with the thought that the building will have to be turned over to the state, the question is when and how to do it.

Participants say that the atmosphere at the plenum was nervous because of the undone work. The attempts of separate leaders to dramatize are not indicative of the general attitude but "obviously no one on the top or at the bottom actually realizes that the BSP is no more a ruling party but an opposition one."

DPS To Support Zhelev in Presidential Election

AU2310145491 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] The central leadership of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] gave its promised postelection news conference. The interest in this event was justifiably great because at it Mr. Ahmed Dogan and representatives of the DPS expressed their position in relation to the legislative representation of the DPS, the composition of the government, the presidential election, and foreign policy.

The DPS and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] will probably form a legislative coalition, it was stated at the news conference. The DPS supports the rapid adoption of the priority laws and attaches importance to the speed of privatization. The DPS will support the SDS candidate for president and, more precisely, the candidacy of Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev.

At the DPS news conference, it was pointed out that 8 percent of those who voted for the DPS were Bulgarians and 12 percent [two words indistinct].

DPS Confirms Possibility of Coalition With SDS

AU2310182691 Sofia BTA in English 1712 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 23 (BTA)—"We stand a real chance of making democratization in Bulgaria an irreversible process," the leader of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), Mr. Ahmed Dogan, said today, speaking at the DPS's first post-election news conference. He said that the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) with its 110 seats and the movement with 24 will hold a clear superiority over the Socialist (ex-Communist) Party in the new parliament of Bulgaria. In this way Mr. Dogan confirmed the possibility of a SDS-DPS parliamentary coalition "which could provide a basis for a government coalition."

For the first time the SDS and the DPS coordinated and specified nominations for these elections. For the local elections they sought joint candidates or figures who could represent politically both organizations. The DPS leaders put the movement's membership at 95,000.

"It is only natural that we should cooperate with the SDS because our platforms are quite close," Mr. Dogan emphasized. "Our participation in the government is desirable but not indispensable," he went on to say at the nearly two-hour-long news conference. Consultations on the composition of the new cabinet were still unofficial. Having listed the options open to the SDS, Mr. Dogan declined to say which option he would support. "We won't bargain with the SDS, we insist on the stability of the former opposition as a basis for a stable government," he said.

In parliament the DPS will seek a prioritized passage of privatization and restitution legislation, of amendments to the Land Act and the Cooperatives Act, of new laws on social insurance and unemployment control.

So far the DPS occupied a centrist position in parliament, Mr. Dogan said. In the new parliament the movement will move leftwards. "The left side is not a monopoly of the Socialist Party. It is actually a right-wing party because it seeks a preservation of the status quo," Mr. Dogan said.

The DPS will have 24 MP's [members of parliament], more than 650 village mayors, 1,000 councillors, and more than 20 municipal mayors. "This is real power," Mr. Dogan said. Asked whether all-Turkish areas would not emerge as a result of this, Mr. Dogan emphasized that the movement had never given reason to speculation that it would use this lever for secessionist tendencies of the Kosovo type. As one of the possible election strategies, the DPS contemplated to nominate independent candidates or to support the representatives of the opposition in sensitive areas like Kurdzhali and Razgrad.

DPS Says Greeks Intervened in Internal Affairs

AU2310192991 Sofia BTA in English 1822 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 23 (BTA)—Mr. Yunal Lyutfi, spokesman for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), described the Greek press speculation of a possible cooling of relations between Sofia and Athens after the general elections made the DPS the third largest parliamentary as "intervention" in Bulgaria's internal affairs.

"I characterize these assessments of the Greek press and of the Greek Foreign Ministry spokesman as intervention in Bulgaria's internal affairs," said Mr. Lyutfi. In his view, there was no room for such insinuations based on the election results because they implied that the movement was an ethnic Turkish party which could influence Bulgaria's foreign policy by its parliamentary representation.

Greece's fears of a deterioration of relations with Bulgaria are without foundation, the DPS leader Mr. Ahmed Dogan said.

Mr. Lyutfi said that the DPS welcomes the recently signed Bulgaro-Greek treaty on friendship, good-neighbourliness, cooperation and security and expects the signing of similar treaties with all Bulgaria's Balkan neighbours. Mr. Lyutfi, however, said he was surprised that the treaty contained two clauses on military cooperation.

Mr. Dogan said the DPS finds nothing disturbing in the fact that the movement's electorate was called "compatriots" in yesterday's declaration of the Turkish Foreign Ministry on the results of the Bulgarian elections. The word was used in reference to the nationality, not the people, Mr. Dogan said. Bulgarians also have compatriots in the United States, Canada and other countries. "'Compatriots' does not mean people belonging to a nation or a state," Mr. Dogan said. "We don't find this disturbing, unless it is a pretext for intervention in Bulgaria's internal affairs."

About 418,000 people voted DPS in the elections. The movement's leaders told today's news conference they still maintained that Turks in Bulgaria numbered a million and a half.

Ganev on Failure of Independents in Elections

AU2310164891 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Oct 91 p 2

[Report by Mitko Krumov: "Independent Candidates Had To Eat the Legislative Soup With Forks, Ganev Jokes"]

[Text] During the elections, the legislative soup is doled out, Ginyo Ganev quipped with a smile, regarding his failure to win a legislative seat, at a news conference given in the International Press Center in Sofia on 18 October.

According to the deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly, the Law on the Elections handed spoons to the parties but gave the independent candidates forks to sup with from the common bowl. On top of everything, these elections provided scanty fare, simply because the times are such, Mr. Ganev commented in his characteristic style.

Ginyo Ganev admitted that he had offers to head three election lists—from the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the Union of Democratic Forces-Center [SDS-Center], and the SDS Liberals—but declined them all, although he knew that the independent deputies would only serve as decoration for the elections and had no chance of real participation in them.

Mr. Ginyo Ganev described the registration of the Rights and Freedoms Movement for participation in the elections as anticonstitutional, adding that the Constitutional Court is obliged to issue a ruling on the matter.

Agrarians To Resign Following Election Failure

AU2310164591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Oct 91 p 2

["DUMA PRESS" report]

[Text] The Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United [BZNS-United] Permanent Board, accepting its responsibility for the failure in the elections, will submit its collective resignation at a meeting of the union's Administrative Council called for 24 October. The meeting will also analyze the Agrarian Party's organizational and political work during the preparations for the elections and the elections themselves.

The agenda of the meeting includes the issue of setting a date for a BZNS-United congress and a discussion on the state of the ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME newspaper.

Kostov Relays Praise From IMF, World Bank

AU2310182491 Sofia BTA in English 1708 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 23 (BTA)—Bulgaria was not at the focus of attention of the annual session of the IMF and the World Bank but it was mentioned with good words, the Minister of Finance Ivan Kostov said upon his return from Bangkok where he attended the session. He told the press that "news" concerning Bulgaria can be expected in the second half of November when the Bulgarian economic programme will be discussed for the third time and a decision will be taken on the further cooperation with the IMF and the World Bank.

Mr. Kostov explained that there are two possibilities. First, Bulgaria could go on with the stabilization programme for another year. In Bangkok the IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus gave a high assessment to this programme and to its implementation which gave him grounds to back energetically the financing of this country. The second possibility, which is preferred by the Bulgarian side, is to embark on a three-year economic restructuring programme, Mr. Kostov explained.

He said that the second possibility would allow Bulgaria to solve the problem with its foreign debt.

Bulgaria received less than the expected 1.5 billion dollars from the IMF which had been intended to stabilize its balance of payments. This is due to the Western government's continuing distrust of Bulgaria, the minister of finance explained. In his opinion, there are still some people in the West who doubt that deep and systematic changes can be carried out here. Among the "Bulgarian" reasons for the reduction of credits he mentioned the limited number of potential creditors sought, the lack of coordination and a certain lack of experience. He also made it clear that "there are long queues in front of the financial institutions."

Regardless of the lower adaptivity of Bulgaria's national economy compared to those of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, in Bangkok Bulgaria's experience was praised as successful and even as an example to be followed by other countries. Bulgaria's No. 1 financier told about a meeting with Albanian "colleagues" at which Bulgaria's representatives tried to be helpful, considering the problems of Tirana.

Manufacturing Industry Continues To Show Decline

AU2310165591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Oct 91 p 2

[Report by Katya Karagyaunova]

[Text] Manufacturing production dropped by 21 percent in the first nine months of this year in comparison to last year, the National Statistical Institute announced. The drop in production is 10.4 points greater than that for the same period in 1990 in comparison to 1989.

Last month alone, industrial commodity production decreased by 1 billion leva, or by 22.9 percent.

Production capacity from the beginning of the year reaches 134.5 billion leva, and commodity production is at 104.7 billion leva. The larger part of the value of manufacturing production, 94.5 billion leva or 70.2 percent, is a result of a price increase in comparison to the first nine months of last year.

During September, the number of companies not manufacturing at all increased by nine, bringing the number already to 189. Out of these, 74 are in the industrial sector and 15 in the construction sector. From the beginning of the year, the number of companies that are increasingly manufacturing less has also increased. Their percentage is 60.3. The number is also smaller of companies with better production results than last year. From 45 percent during the first quarter, this group of economic enterprises has manufactured 38 percent during the nine-month period.

The retail price index for the third quarter of this year is 120.24 percent on the basis of the second quarter.

Ocean Fisheries Company Incurs Heavy Debt

AU2310165891 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[Report by Evgeni Gavrilov]

[Text] Despite great efforts, the Ocean Fisheries State Company failed to extract from the government the 131 million leva it needed to balance its books for 1991. Instead of this, the Cabinet ordered the company's board to prepare a stabilization program, which is unlikely to plug the holes in the company's flotilla of ships.

From 1987 to mid-November 1990, the company received over 112 million leva in the form of financial injections. However, this money proved insufficient to cover company expenditures in the continuously deteriorating international economic conditions.

The introduction of 200-mile economic zones by coastal states to reserve fisheries for themselves led to a steady rise in licensing fees. The cost of supplying fuel to fishing areas and of transporting fish to ports of discharge at home and abroad has risen by almost 11 million leva. Substantial increases have also occurred in the costs of electric power, transportation of crews, packaging materials, and ship repairs abroad.

As a result of all this, during the first seven months of 1991, the Ocean Fisheries Company suffered sales losses of 34,120,000 leva and accumulated debts of 97,850,000 leva. By the end of this year, these losses are expected to reach 114,356,000 leva.

Some time ago, the Council of Ministers appointed a special commission of experts to seek ways to rescue the Ocean Fisheries Company. This commission reached the conclusion that it was necessary to renew the international agreement with the USSR and to conclude similar agreements with the United States, Canada, the Falkland Islands, Namibia, and Angola. It also recommended granting a low-interest bank credit and setting the selling prices for saltwater fish in the domestic market on the basis of production costs instead of the leva equivalent of the export value of the fish.

Because it is impossible for the state budget to cover this year's expected loss, the commission holds the view that the loss should be converted into a long-term bank credit at a reduced interest rate. The commission strongly believes that it is inadvisable to shut the company down for reasons of insolvency because that will completely empty the stores of fish products and increase the unemployment register by 2,000. Furthermore, it would be quite difficult to find a buyer for the fishery company's outdated equipment.

The government is once again considering what to do with the Ocean Fisheries Company, but, for the moment, the company's fate remains undecided. A number of proposals exist for transforming and rescuing the concern, while preventing the disappearance of fish from the ordinary Bulgarian's diet. The special governmental commission chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev will once again discuss the problem. Nevertheless, one thing is clear: The company has practically no chance of obtaining the 131 million leva it needs before the end of the year. According to an expert close to the government, it has emerged that the company has been using the money granted to subsidize its activities to earn dollars, but none of these dollars are finding their way back into the state treasury.

Railway Official Reports Half of Locomotives Idle

AU2310165291 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Oct 91 p 1

[Report by Svilen Stoev]

[Text] About 400 locomotives, half of the entire fleet at the disposal of the Locomotive Operations Directorate of Bulgarian State Railways, stand parked on sidetracks. The reason is the sharp decline in national production, stated Miroslav Kolev, director of the Locomotive Operations Directorate of Bulgarian State Railways, on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of the construction of the first Bulgarian railroad line, from Ruse to Varna.

There is no one to whom we can lease out the unused engines because Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, and Yugoslavia produce locomotives themselves. The only possibility is Greece, but so far only one contract has been concluded for three locomotives.

The Locomotive Operations Directorate is trying to preserve jobs. However, the engineers are earning less because they are not fully employed and have no opportunity for overtime.

Mr. Kolev recalled that only a year and a half ago the company was operating about 750 locomotives every day.

Report of Attempt To Sell Arms to Burma

Sale Said Thwarted

AU2310161891 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 21 Oct 91 p 8

["r"-signed report: "Arms for Burma?"]

[Text] Prague—The president's spokesman Michal Zantovsky told us yesterday that he does not know anything about any sale of Czechoslovak weapons to Burma. P. Cernocky, spokesman for the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, told us that all questions concerning arms exports must be submitted in writing and that the ministry would reply to them within two to three days.

According to information that we obtained from sources at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a certain Slovak firm tried to offer to sell some arms systems to various countries, including Burma. The Czechoslovak Embassy in Burma intercepted the letter of offer, and the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not recommend the sale. Shortly thereafter, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, too, confirmed the halt of the sale. It follows from the information that we have that the deal has not been carried out thus far. We continue our investigations.

Ministry Makes Statement

AU2310150091 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 22 Oct 91 p 3

["(LN)"-signed report: "No Arms From a Legal Point of View"]

[Text] Prague—At a news conference held in the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry in Prague yesterday, Foreign Ministry Press Spokesman Egon Lansky denied claims made by the U.S. State Department that the CSFR has sold arms to the ruling junta in Burma.

"We have enough evidence to be able to claim that Czechoslovakia has not legally supplied arms to Burma during the past five years," he stressed. However, he admitted that arms could have been exported illegally from the CSFR. He stated that "there is, allegedly, a Czechoslovak company offering arms," but, as he again stressed, this has not yet been absolutely verified. An embargo has been imposed on arms supplies to Burma, and Czechoslovakia fully respects this, he added.

We were also given similar information by the Foreign Trade Ministry that added that the CSFR has no plans for such trade in the very near future. However, this statement makes no mention of the fact that a letter was sent to Burma from Czechoslovakia containing an offer to conclude a contract that, according to our well informed sources, did not only have to involve arms. President Havel, having been given this information, flew to the United States yesterday. The issue of possible arms supplies to Burma could come up at his high-level talks there.

Yesterday's news conference at the Federal Foreign Ministry also dealt with other topics. As Gabriel Brenka, director of the Federal Foreign Ministry International Legal Department, stated, the draft interstate treaty between the CSFR and Hungary will be ready for initialing after the 24 October meeting between the two sides. He said that this treaty will not resolve the problem of the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project. This is because the treaty is a long-term document in which it is impossible to refer to a problem that is, in essence, "an episode in our mutual relations."

In connection with the multiplying leaks of confidential information from the Federal Foreign Ministry, E. Lansky stated that state employees, even as private persons, cannot make public statements that are at fundamental variance with government policy. They cannot make public something they have found out by virtue of their official status. Such a fundamental disagreement should be dealt with by the resignation of the appropriate employee. According to the spokesman, Federal Foreign Ministry employees have recently made public statements that fundamentally contradict the foreign policy line adopted by the CSFR Government.

Handling of Affair Criticized

AU2310153191 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 22 Oct 91 p 3

[Commentary by Jan Dobrovsky: "An Independent Secretary"]

[Text] Press agencies reported on 19 October that a representative of the U.S. State Department had referred to the sale of Czechoslovak arms to the military regime in Burma. He described it as paradoxical that CSFR President Vaclav Havel had proposed a Burmese opposition activist for the Nobel Peace Prize, which she received this year. The fact that this information was made public immediately before the Czechoslovak president's visit to the United States gives it added relevance.

Under such circumstances, it would be normal for the appropriate institutions to immediately issue a statement on the true state of affairs so that public opinion does not whirl around in groundless speculation. However, nothing of the kind has happened. It was 21 October before the Federal Foreign Ministry issued a statement that the CSFR has not sold, and is not selling, arms to Burma. Of course, President Havel departed for the United States with the knowledge that the Burmese side had received a certain offer from Czechoslovakia to conclude a contract. Nevertheless, the ministry's statement makes no mention of this fact. Moreover, the statement issued by the foreign trade minister's press secretary is most embarrassing of all. He said that he wants questions concerning arms sales in writing and that he will answer them within two or three days. It is possible—without exaggeration—to characterize such conduct as either contempt for the citizens' right to know or as professional incompetence. The situation is made even more

absurd by the fact that the press secretary sometimes appears in the mass media as an independent journalist.

Czech-Slovak Discussions To Continue

LD2410074291 Prague CSTK in English 2104 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Stirin Oct 23 (CSTK)—The Czech and Slovak parliament presidiums will continue their talks on October 31-November 1 in the Slovak capital of Bratislava to work out the details of Czechoslovakia's future state setup, Czech parliament chairwoman Dagmar Buresova and Slovak parliament chairman Frantisek Miklosko told journalists today.

The presidiums concluded this evening a two-day negotiating session at Stirin castle near Prague.

The major points of contention in the talks are the distribution of powers between the federation and the country's two constituent republics, and a draft treaty between the republics.

No Talks on Sub-Carpathia Reportedly Planned

LD2410074691 Prague CSTK in English 1954 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 23 (CSTK)—"The Czechoslovak Government cannot initiate talks on incorporating Subcarpathian Rus into Czecho-Slovakia as this would mean interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union and the Ukraine", Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman Egon Lansky told CSTK today.

"Nevertheless, if the region's inhabitants expressed interest in joining Czechoslovakia, with the consent of the Soviet and Ukrainian Governments we would naturally not reject them", Lansky said.

He said the Czechoslovak Government aims to maintain the best possible cultural, trade and regional links with the Subcarpathian Rus.

Lansky recalled that Subcarpathian Rus (formerly part of Hungary—ed.) came under Czechoslovak administration under the 1919 treaty of Saint Germain, and was granted autonomous status in October 1938. In March 1939 it was occupied by Hungary. On June 29, 1945, the Czechoslovak Government signed an agreement ceding the region to the Soviet Union. The agreement came into effect January 1, 1946.

Lansky said the recently initialled Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty confirms the validity of the present borders and states that the two countries have no territorial claims on each other.

Referring to alleged Ukrainian claims on some parts of eastern Slovakia, Lansky said Czechoslovakia has not been officially asked for anything and he himself knew nothing of any demands.

Lansky said in the event of Czechoslovakia's breakup Subcarpathian Rus might become a magnet that would draw Slovakia into the Ukraine or the Soviet Union. This would seriously complicate the position of an independent Slovakia, he said.

Any decision to hold a referendum to determine Ruthenians wishes regarding the region's future is up to the Ukrainian or Soviet Governments, Lansky added.

Civic Democratic Union-VPN Issues Declaration

AU2310141491 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 21 Oct 91 p 2

["Declaration" adopted by the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence Executive Committee at its first session in Poprad on 20 October 1991]

[Text] The Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence [ODU-VPN] Executive Committee adopted the following declaration at its first session in Poprad on 20 October 1991:

1. We are citizens of the Slovak Republic; however, we are also citizens of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. We will assert our policy aims in Slovakia and also in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. We want a functioning federation. We will maintain our views, not only against the attempts to establish a federation from above, but also against threats to the joint state's stability.

2. We consider integration with the European Community as quickly as possible to be one of the most important events determining the state's economic and political future.

3. We will continue to assert radical economic reform. We consider proposals to separate the Slovak economy from the Czech economy to be hazardous.

4. Liberal values are, to us, values associated with individual freedom and with intersocietal understanding for respect for fundamental human rights. We reject a return to the 19th century, as well as contentions that modern liberalism (especially in the economy) is another enemy of humanity. Liberalism in the economy means creating conditions in which all citizens can make use of their capabilities and talents. Sufficient resources for tackling social problems are created in this way. In this spirit, a guarantee of social certainties for citizens who, for whatever reason, find themselves in a complicated economic and social situation will be a natural element of ODU-VPN policy.

5. We also acknowledge the tried-and-tested institutions of current civilization. It is necessary to understand the conservative nature of our political platform in this regard. We esteem fundamental values: family, tradition, patriotism, love for our children, respect for the elderly, and decency in intersocietal relations.

6. Our aim is prosperity for individual citizens and their satisfaction with life. We will subordinate all our activity to this aim during this difficult transitional period of social change.

ODU-VPN Executive Committee
Poprad, 20 October 1991

Social Democrats Discuss Party Shake-Up

LD2410034291 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Report by Alexander Pycha]

[Text] Ivan Fisera, chairman of the Social Democratic group in the Federal Assembly, has explained the reshuffle of the party's Central Executive Committee and said that the so-called controversial people had to leave. The party's leadership also denied that the departure of Jiri Horak [chairman of the Social Democratic Party] was discussed in the context of a reshuffle of the party's Central Committee. According to Fisera, it was, on the contrary, Horak's wing that won.

Horak's spokesman (Jaromir Kuca) emphasized that Jiri Horak would retain the post of party chairman at least until the next congress. At the same time, he refused to contemplate the holding of an extraordinary congress. Social Democratic leaders described the election of Valtr Komarek as the party's election leader as proof of the popularity of economic reform. At the same time, they claimed that, although the new regime brought freedom to the workers, the workers lost their guarantees. Horak's party promises to return those guarantees to them.

As far as coalition talks with other parties are concerned, Social Democratic negotiators deposed from the party's leadership have not been replaced yet. The Liberal-Social Union, the most promising election partner for the Social Democrats, today rejected the plan to call the future coalition the Social Democratic Union. Socialist chairman Ladislav Dvorak described as unacceptable the fact that the liberal nature of the union, of his party, and of the Agrarian Party led by Trnka should be lost in this kind of coalition. However, the Liberal-Social Union still thinks the coalition with the Social Democrats is plausible.

Spokesman Rejects Romania's Anti-Hungarian Campaign

LD2310202191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Text] The spokesman at today's press briefing expounded the Foreign Ministry's view of the anti-Magyar [magyarellenes] campaign in Romania. Istvan Kulcsar interviewed Janos Herman, foreign affairs spokesman:

[Begin recording] [Herman] We cannot lose sight of the fact that completely unfounded accusations have been levelled against Hungary, the Hungarian Government, and Hungarian diplomacy during the campaign. Our diplomacy received in the past few days a number of signals that the campaign—whose tone fans incitement—is received abroad with incomprehension and indignation. The Romanian parliament will continue debating the issue on 24 October. We continue to hope that the sober, moderate forces will overcome the extremist voices fanning incitement.

[Kulcsar] The spokesman spoke about the circumstances which obstruct—and during the night—stop shipping on the Yugoslav stretch of the Danube. However, he added that even the potential construction of a pontoon bridge there would not make shipping traffic impossible. In answering Radio Hungary's question as to whether any answer was received from Belgrade either regarding the violation of Hungarian airspace by Yugoslav military planes or regarding the Hungarian note asking for clarification over the mines which exploded near the Hungarian border, the foreign spokesman said this:

[Herman] These two issues were last raised by the Hungarian ambassador to Belgrade at the Foreign Ministry on 18 October. We have not received a reply since from the Yugoslav Federal foreign policy secretariat to these two issues. [end recording]

Antall Views Changes in Economic, Social System

LD2410022891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Jozsef P. Szabo; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted on Antall recalling events in 1956] [Szabo] On 23 October we commemorate 1956 as well as the second anniversary of the procamation of the republic. How do you, as prime minister of the Hungarian Republic's freely elected government, see the present situation and the future of the republic?

[Antall] It was clearly indicated on 23 October 1989 that the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic is directly connected to the heritage of 1956. Therefore, I feel the second anniversary of the republic also means the continued implementation of the 1956 heritage. And if one just thinks of the few things we have achieved in the area of national sovereignty—and as part of historic world processes—we can be proud that we made a contribution to this historic world process in 1956 as well as from 1987 to 1990.

We have to construct a new system, parliamentary democracy, and a free market economy in the region as part of the world historical trend. I have already noted several times that the world does not seem to have been prepared in the course of 74 years as to what to do if the Soviet system or the communist system collapsed in this region. The leading developed, Western countries—the world's developed and determining governments in general—have been prepared in the military sense, but in the political and economic sense this transformation found them totally unprepared.

I think we have to take into account the facts when we shape our political strategy, and I am convinced that the plans of a general staff should always be based on reason and feelings can only guide bayonet assaults. In this sense we have to shape the country's security in accordance with an accurately defined program, in order to guarantee that we can preserve our independence and sovereignty that we achieved. We can further develop that with Europe and NATO.

In the transformation we can achieve economic transformation without any major shock and we can continue to use the fact that Hungary represents a stable region, a stable country in this unstable region, so that foreign investors and domestic enterpreneurs can be sure that Hungary's economic development is guaranteed in the future. I think that to do this we have to find and continuously provide a social safety net in order that those who have fallen, those who have had temporary setbacks, can be helped. If we achieve this then I believe we will have fulfilled the assignment we received from our electors.

I think Hungary's achievements so far can be evaluated positively, irrespective of the fact that today this cannot be sensed by every individual, and a very large percentage of the people feel either the deterioration or stagnation of the financial situation, thus the country's public feeling is not good, as there is plenty of uncertainty over unemployment and other factors. However, this transformation took place not simply because we wanted it, or we waited for it and we wanted this, but simply because the previous system collapsed. [passage omitted]

We have to create the new country on the ruins of that previous system. And neither those who supported the former era, the so-called Kadar era, nor those who are dissatisfied with today's circumstances should forget about this, because, I am afraid, a transformation and the creation of a Western-style social market economy from a dictatorial political system, a planned economy system, is not such a short distance and is not such a short time as crossing the Hungarian-Austrian border at Hegyeshalom.

Antall Addresses Democratic Forum 'Closed' Meeting

LD2310220291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 20 Oct 91

[Text] The Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] Presidium met behind closed doors, with Prime Minister

Jozsef Antall attending the meeting. Andras Takacs was at the news conference held after the meeting:

[Takacs] There can be no question of collective responsibility in Hungary, Laszlo Medgyasszay, MDF Presidium member, quoted statements from this morning's speech by Jozsef Antall, party chairman and prime minister, at the Forum's press briefing this afternoon. At the national meeting of MDF organization chairman, Jozsef Antall said about the settling of responsibilities: Those responsible for crimes must be punished; those responsible must be named, but nothing must be allowed to endanger economic prosperity. At today's meeting, the 842 MDF organization chairmen debated preparations for the Forum's fifth national conference, to be held 14-15 December in Budapest. Today's meeting was part of the preparations. Jozsef Kis, chairman of the Zuglo branch, said that the main subject at the meeting was the criticism of Gabor Demszky and the Metropolitan Assembly from the chairmen from the counties because of their decision concerning the Expo. Karoly Szerenyi, chairman of the MDF in County Somogy, said that leading politicians should appear more frequently in the press. Although there was no antipress mood at today's meeting, the responsibility of the press was stressed at the briefing. As Karoly Szerenyi said, the distribution of papers close to the government is inadequate, and the papers MAGYAR FORUM and UJ MAGYARORSZAG sent to the country do not reach the readers. By way of a conclusion to the briefing, Laszlo Medgyasszay quoted the words of one of the county chairmen: The MDF should be the background for the government, formulating the public will and an ideological center; however, the MDF should not be aiming for party power, should not become bolshevizied, and should not be searching for enemies.

Gyula Horn Discusses 1989 Change of System

AU2310180591 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Oct 91 p 17

[Interview with Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party and former foreign minister, by Andras Szigethy; place and date not given: "The Republic's Two Years"]

[Text] The Hungarian Republic is two years old. What preliminaries, reasons, and forces led Hungary to that historic turning point? We interviewed Gyula Horn.

[Szigethy] Political legends still claim that during one of the Gorbachev-Reagan meetings, a secret agreement was reached that the Soviet Union would relinquish Eastern Europe. This in fact paved the way for the avalanche of events that followed.

[Horn] Only the two leaders know what really happened. Those members of the public who are interested in politics link the aforementioned agreement to the Malta summit. The statements made in Malta clearly indicated that Gorbachev had definitively given up on any Soviet empire interests, and he definitively agreed that the countries of Eastern and Central Europe should choose which way they wanted to proceed in the future.

[Szigethy] Did you, as somebody working in the Foreign Ministry, sense this concretely?

[Horn] Absolutely. However, we could already feel the wind of change in the fall of 1988—before the Malta summit, in other words. The coordination processes in the Warsaw Pact were given a completely different aspect and content.

[Szigethy] Did it ever occur to the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] that the regime might collapse?

[Horn] It depends which leadership we are talking about. The party leadership that was in place before the May 1988 party conference would hardly have accepted the thought that the regime had failed. Right to the end, the leadership believed that the regime had some serious faults, but that these faults could be rectified.

[Szigethy] Did this belief change later, during the roundtable negotiations between the MSZMP and the opposition? To what extent did the party elite of that time take the roundtable negotiations seriously?

[Horn] It may sound strange, but I have to admit that the members of the MSZMP Central Committee at that time did not attach particular importance to those talks. Admittedly, they sometimes presented a summary of these meetings, but only as if they were a regular series of talks. In fact, those who tried to come to an agreement with the opposition actually came under attack. The Central Committee was sometimes truly divided during its debates on how to behave with the various opposition groups. Many people never even imagined that a fundamental change could take place or that there was a need for that.

[Szigethy] What kind of relations did you have with the opposition in those days?

[Horn] In the Foreign Ministry we discussed some rather sensitive issues with opposition representatives—like Romanian- Hungarian relations and certain aspects of issues related to the Warsaw Pact.

[Szigethy] If the Foreign Ministry thought it important to establish links with the opposition, why did the party not feel the same way?

[Horn] The authorities had grown used to self-assurance. Even in those days, the main emphasis was placed on the answers given to different, diverging opinions voiced within the party.

[Szigethy] What did you personally think of socialism? Did you ever have doubts about the salutary aspect of the regime?

[Horn] The first serious doubts I had were about the economics of socialism. During one of my conversations

with Janos Kadar—and this is something I mention in "Colopok" (NEPSZABADSAG note: title of Gyula Horn's recently published book)—I mentioned the difference between Austria's and Czechoslovakia's economic performances. At the end of the 1960's, only the foreign affairs department was in direct contact with the West, so we were able to make certain analyses. When we started analyzing economic performance, it became clear to us that our region was marked by an inability to perform, or even some kind of hostility toward performance.

[Szigethy] What solutions could you foresee once you had drawn these conclusions?

[Horn] I believed that this problem could be solved from within. Changes could be made to reform the system that existed at the time, and there were enough internal forces within the party to do that. I thought that an economic change of regime could take place without it irritating our allies.

[Szigethy] So you could envisage a solution whereby we abandoned the socialist course in our economy but still remained within the bloc from a political point of view?

[Horn] I definitely thought along the lines of remaining within the bloc, partly because I based myself on the opinion expressed on several occasions by Janos Kadar during private conversations. Kadar very clearly stated that any attempts to radically turn away from the bloc line were doomed to fail. If we want changes that irritate our allies through their direction or content, our allies will intervene militarily. Consequently, I only thought that a slow evolutionary process would be possible, a process that would lead to economic changes that would enable us to operate a performance-oriented system.

[Szigethy] That is political nonsense.

[Horn] There are historical situations where politicians have no choice but to try to make sense out of nonsense. Czechoslovakia's 1968 attempt showed the distances to which separate political roads could lead.

[Szigethy] When did the playground for historical possibilities change?

[Horn] When Gorbachev came to power, people suddenly realized that something different could be achieved here. For the first time in a long time, the constellation changed so that we had partners in Moscow who agreed with changes.

[Szigethy] When the change of regime became possible, did you ever think that you might lose your position of power among political decisionmakers?

[Horn] No.

[Szigethy] Why did this never occur to you?

[Horn] I have to admit that I did not think that the change of regime would oust those who had contributed in a significant way to the changes and who had served the interests of their country through their work; I did not think that these people would be pushed out of their position of power and that they would be denied participation in the management of state organizations for domestic and foreign policy. I was under the impression that our change of regime would follow the Spanish or Portuguese examples. I am not just surprised but astounded when I hear some members of the current government coalition demanding a clean-up, or even a settling of accounts—this at a time when one of the main problems in our economic regime is the fact that prominent experts have been removed from the sphere of public administration and state administration. If the recently announced clean-up action reduces our staff of experts to a tenth of its size again, this could have fatal consequences for the further development of Hungary's society.

[Szigethy] What kind of a transition did the authorities of that time and the opposition roundtable agree on during the course of their negotiations? I am asking you this because I presume that those in power tried to create the right conditions so that they would not be defenseless later on.

[Horn] All the signatories agreed that the change of regime would be in line with European political culture. However, scarcely two years have passed, and some parties are flagrantly violating that agreement. I do not want to moralize, but if certain people want to call others to account because of their party affiliation or former party affiliation, or if they want these people to be discriminated against, then they are behaving in an unconstitutional way because they are committing political discrimination. In 1988-1989, I did not think that the general conditions in this country would develop in this way. My reasoning may have been burdened by a certain amount of idealism, but I really thought that we were faced with a unique opportunity in the sense that those forces who were interested in the country's democratic progress could join forces and resolve the visible social, political, and economic crisis.

[Szigethy] Did you think that diverging interests would separate various groups and make them fight against each other?

[Horn] International experiences showed that solving a crisis the size of Hungary's would be possible in two theoretical ways: either through dictatorship, or through the broadest possible national solidarity. Dictatorship no longer stood a chance. With hindsight, it may seem like I was entertaining illusions when I thought that the broadest possible national solidarity would be the only solution.

[Szigethy] Would it be possible for people to save their own skins (so to speak) and pass from the Nemeth government to the new government within the context of this broad national solidarity?

[Horn] The last thing the Nemeth government wanted to do was to save its own skin. It was a government of experts. It was not the last socialist government but the

first crisis-managing government, and it did everything it could to keep the country afloat and create a basis for its future. During the last quarter before the elections, it introduced a series of urgent unpopular measures. Just to mention one example, it liberated food prices. Naturally, for the sake of its own popularity, the Miklos Nemeth government could have postponed many decisions a little longer. However, we knew perfectly well that one of the major mistakes of our predecessors' policy had been to sweep things under the carpet, to postpone things, and to turn away from problems.

[Szigethy] You seem to be an embittered man, yet few former government officials or ministers are in parliament today, few of them head an important legislative committee (the foreign affairs committee)—in a word, few of them have remained politicians.

[Horn] For a long time now, I have not been guided by personal ambitions. There was a time when this element also played a part in my life. I am worried because I think that dangerous circumstances are starting to develop in our domestic policy. As for our foreign policy, we seem to be losing the advantage that Hungary gained through its prestige these past few years. We could have put ourselves in a better position if we had conducted a deliberate active policy in relation to the tragic crisis that is taking place in Yugoslavia. We should have created ourselves a role whereby Hungary would be a kind of bridge along the road toward a solution. I could mention many examples of lost opportunities. Instead of using these opportunities, the authorities are beating their drum, proclaiming that Hungary has a mission in the region.

[Szigethy] You are the chairman of Parliament's foreign affairs committee. Why did you not play a more active role in the handling of this matter?

[Horn] I have the increasing impression that the authorities are not interested in my opinion. Immediately after the change of regime—or rather, the change of government—I noticed that they were not very interested in the opinions of former experts when it came to important issues. The Nemeth government was the first to deal with crisis-management, but its experiences were never made use of. That is an inadmissible luxury—as is the current government's failure to try and reach a consensus with society. This was the major shortcoming of the traditional MSZMP authorities. We cannot achieve anything here without a social consensus. This is what our history has always shown us. In a word, that is why I am embittered.

[Szigethy] Are you satisfied in your capacity as committee chairman?

[Horn] Not at all. At the time, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall asked me on behalf of his victorious party to fill this post. I accepted. Now I feel as though my function is starting to become a formal one.

Ceremonies Commemorate 1956 Revolution

LD2410095191 Budapest MTI in English 1719 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 23 (MTI)—The 35th anniversary of the 1956 revolution and war of independence and the second anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Hungary were duly commemorated all over Hungary on Wednesday.

To mark the occasion, President Arpad Goncz presented honours in the parliament building in the attendance of speaker Gyorgy Szabad and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall.

On the prime minister's proposal, the president awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of Banner of the Republic of Hungary and a 1956 commemorative medal to Maria Wittner in recognition of her exemplary heroism during the 1956 revolution and war of independence.

The Medium Cross of the Order of Banner was awarded to 21 people, and the 1956 Commemorative Medal to 54, including 24 persons who had died already. The posthomous prizes were taken over by relatives. Some awardees living abroad will receive the medal through diplomatic channels.

Under the proposal of the social committee set up to select the recipients of the 1956 commemorative plaques and medals, commemorative medals were awarded to President Arbad Goncz and Prime Minister Joszef Antall. The medals were handed over by academician Domokos Kosary.

On the proposal of Defence Minister Lajos Fur, President Arpad Goncz promoted Kalman Lorincz, commander of the Hungarian Army, to Colonel General, Chief-of-Staff Janos Deak to brigadier general, and Zoltan Priol, communication and automatization chief of the Hungarian Army, to lieutenant general.

Delivering a speech, Goncz said that now, when the borders of the country are scorched by fire, the Hungarian Army has the task to defend the security of the nation and the independence of the country. The Hungarian people has confidence in its Army, the president said.

Parliament Approves CSFR Legal Relations Bill

LD2310220591 Budapest MTI in English 1707 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 22 (MTI)—A declaration for enforcing the agreement regulating Czechoslovak-Hungarian legal ties was unanimously passed by the Hungarian parliament at its plenary session today. The original agreement was concluded in March 1989.

The parliamentary resolution takes effect on the third day after the declaration and is retroactive to the date [words indistinct] initial conclusion.

Also, with an overwhelming majority, parliament voted to amend the 1990 law on an assets inventory of certain social organizations related to the previous regime, such as current groups which may have evolved from former Socialist Party affiliates. The amendment stipulates that organizations submitting unverified inventories will have to attach supplements by November 30.

Before opening the parliamentary discussion, Speaker of Parliament Gyorgy Szabad commemorated the 35th anniversary of the 1956 revolution.

Budget Subsidies of Most State Funds To Be Reduced

AU2310172291 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Oct 91 p 5

["Cs.K.K."-sigend report: "They Receive Less From the State—The Budget of Funds for 1992"]

[Text] The special state funds can expect almost 8 billion forints less in subsidies from the budget in 1992, it emerges from the state budget guidelines for 1992. The treasury would contribute 61.9 billion forints to the 181-billion-forint income of these funds. In 1992, the income of the road fund, the housing fund, the technical development fund, the vocational training fund, and the environmental protection fund would reach 40 billion forints. Enterprises would pay more than 36 billion forints into the various funds. Due to the increased portion of unemployment benefit contribution payable by the employee, the burden of the population would be greater than in 1991.

Development of Budget Subsidies of State Funds (in million forints)

	1991	1992
Tourism Fund	600	1,000
Trade Development Fund	5,000	4,000
Investment Incentive Fund	1,500	2,000
Central Youth Fund	80	100
General Market Intervention Fund	700	700
Employment Fund	9,540	15,000
Solidarity Fund	13,800	10,200
Settlement Fund	800	1,000
Housing Fund	37,700	27,900
World Expo Fund	50	0

According to the government, the amount of unemployment benefit contribution has to be increased because the solidarity fund's income in 1991 would only meet a third of the expenses in 1992. Starting from 1992, expenses of institutions financed from social security will be paid by the social security fund. The government would like to put a maximum limit of 15 billion forints on the support of the employment fund in 1992.

Raffay: Army Can Handle 'Aggression' From SFRY

LD2310161391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1105 GMT 22 Oct 91

[By Stanko Sajtinac]

[Text] Budapest, Oct 22 (TANJUG)—Examining the possible implications of the Yugoslav civil war for the security of Hungary, State Secretary in the Defence Ministry in Budapest Erno Raffay said that the Hungarian Army is capable of repelling possible aggression on its territory.

Elaborating on the topic on the pages of the government daily NEW HUNGARY, Raffay claims that, as opposed to the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), the Hungarian Army, although not as well equipped, is "disciplined and ready to defend the state borders."

In the report Raffay gives the impression that the attack of the JNA on Hungary is about to begin.

Not a day goes by without a statement appearing in the press by a competent figure from the Defence Ministry, security service or border units command, informing the public about the situation on the border with Yugoslavia. An impression is being created on the immediate danger to Hungary, which, as it wishes to be presented, is a potential victim of the "Yugoslav danger."

Director of the Institute for Political and Security Questions in Budapest Peter Deak, who made his name last spring by writing about the "Yugoslav case", examines in the daily MAGYAR HIRLAP the characteristics of the JNA, claiming that it is "dominated by a mass of professional soldiers who are existentially linked to it" and that they "in terms of their general stands can be considered a conservative lobby."

Deak writes also that Hungarian citizens, however, will not have less reason for concern "if Hungary gets three states on its southern borders instead of one, with the Hungarian minority living in three countries."

The creation of an atmosphere about some kind of "Yugoslav danger" in the Hungarian public to a great extent surpasses the limits of understandable concern, since over 400,000 Hungarians live in Yugoslavia, who so far represented a good "bridge" of cooperation and good-neighborly relations between the two countries.

Walesa Receives Envoy to U.S., Labor Minister

LD2310144691 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Correspondent Andrzej Jelenski report from Belvedere Castle]

[Text] This morning Kazimierz Dziewanowski, Polish ambassador to the United States, was hosted by President Lech Walesa. During a half-hour conversation, the country's domestic situation immediately before the first genuine and free parliamentary elections was discussed. Ambassador Kazimierz Dziewanowski told me after the meeting that he was impressed by the conversation with the president, who presented all of the most important problems of Poland today. The conversation also concerned international issues, with special emphasis placed on eastern issues. Ambassador Dziewanowski stressed that changes taking place in Poland are well received in the United States, where the general feeling is that Poland is leading the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in choosing a proper way to full democracy.

Also this morning, Labor Minister Michal Boni visited Belvedere. The Ministry head told the President about intentions for social policies connected with the new laws.

President Walesa pointed out the need for much broader reporting to the Poles on directions in this sphere, as well as on the situation of different social groups. One also has to think clearly about those who are in the most difficult situation. After all, the indispensable changes in the social welfare of the state should be implemented gradually, in instalments over the years. An important role in this sphere will be played by the future Parliament, stressed President Lech Walesa.

Bielecki Discusses Political Scene

AU2210160991 Warsaw GAZETA SWIATECZNA in Polish 19-20 Oct pp 8-13

[Interview with Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki by Adam Michnik; place and date not given: "We Need Agreement Among Sensible People"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Michnik] What are the main differences between you, as a politician, and the programmatic proposals being proposed by politicians from the Center Accord or the Christian-National Union? You both supported Lech Walesa's candidacy for president, but later that alliance came apart.

[Bielecki] I find that sort of viewpoint to be of very little interest. I am saying the same thing that I said six months ago, one year ago, and two years ago. The Liberal Democratic Congress seeks to make its position as clear-cut as possible. For us, a long march policy and the need to institute difficult reforms over a period of many years are our key objectives. I would suggest that we devote more attention to those things that can unite us and less to those things on which we differ, because otherwise it will be very difficult to have a concept of what our state should be like after the elections. The elections are of key importance but, after the elections, the state has to exist in an efficient form. Then, we will have to construct coalitions of one kind or another, ones that are based on a positive program, that will provide a rallying point for continuing with the process of change in a responsible manner.

[Michnik] A clear definition of the differences that exist is also of considerable importance, so I would like to ask the following question: In your opinion, in what fundamental way do the liberals differ from the Center Accord and the Christian-National Union?

[Bielecki] The concepts contained in the programs of the Center Accord or the Christian-National Union are internal matters for these groups, and using a program that is as intelligible as possible, they must gain popular approval and convince people that they provide guarantees for subsequently carrying out their programs. As I already said, I do not follow programs in detail. On the other hand, I am very interested in what the Congress will say and the extent to which it will be intelligible.

Some day we can hold a separate debate devoted to the programmatic differences between individual groups, and that would be very interesting. Why should we just talk about the Center Accord and the Christian-National Union? There are other groups, of which a significant number talk about a policy of "toning things down" to carry more conviction with potential voters. We are not a group that will shed its identity as the price that has to be paid for success in the elections or for a somewhat higher percentage of the votes. The most important thing for me is that the Congress should be represented in the Parliament, and I am available to support that cause. I help to make use of the 15, 30, or 42.5 minutes that Polish liberalism has to obtain a place in Parliament for a voice that urges a degree of reason and logic in the economy. The rest is a certain kind of process.

[Michnik] What are relations like between you and the president?

[Bielecki] A question that blunt throws me somewhat, but I will try to provide a long answer. It "came as a surprise" to find myself in this exceptionally responsible post, and I believe that it was due to the great degree of confidence placed in me by the president or to the president's political instinct. I made it my fundamental principle to seek to lead our state to the first free elections in as stable a way as possible, in line with my ability and knowledge. This is what gave rise to the saying about "from one line to another" [od kreski do kreski].

I think that our relations are exemplary because I, for my part, guarantee a basic feeling of responsibility and loyalty toward the president, and the president gives me a great deal of freedom, contrary to what journalists used to say at the beginning, believing that everything was decided by the Belvedere or by Lech Walesa personally.

Meanwhile, I make my decisions independently. The president did not even know who would be in the Government of Poland. [passage omitted]

[Michnik] I would like to ask you about "wiping the slate clean." The campaign that was directed against the Mazowiecki government attacked the government for failing to hold the communists to account. It was argued that if Walesa won, the next government would hold the communists to account and get rid of the nomenklatura companies. You have been in government for many months now, but I do not see any companies being got rid of, I do not see the communists being held to account, and I do not see an end to "wiping the slate clean." I consider that to be a virtue on your part. I defended the philosophy that an official's ability and loyalty are what count, not his biography.

[Bielecki] There are two issues here. The first is one's attitude to "wiping the slate clean." I honestly cannot agree that "wiping the slate clean" is particularly apt. "Wiping the slate clean" did not convince those at whom it was directed, that is, the communists, because a number of their actions were prompted by the feeling that the situation was a temporary one. When they stepped down, they did so with considerable creativity—that is how I would put it tactfully.

For me, the worst thing about "wiping the slate clean" was that it created a certain illusion in society, that we are making a break with the past, and that we are beginning to build our state from scratch, but that was not true. Mr. Mazowiecki complained on several occasions about my talking about "wiping the slate clean" in this context, but the issue keeps coming up. What was missing was what is called an opening balance in bookkeeping, or a "white book" in politics, that is, a compendium describing the position in which Poland found itself.

However, I see a great difference between the Mazowiecki-Bielecki governments and the Mazowiecki-Rakowski governments. I want to stress that the failure to describe to society the situation in which we found ourselves in 1989 is now having a negative impact on us.

[Michnik] Do you believe that, if there had been such a "white book," someone would have studied it?

[Bielecki] It is not a question of studying it but of having figures.

[Michnik] We all knew that everything had collapsed, that everything was completely in ruins.

[Bielecki] If we had shown certain things straightaway, it would have been better. For example, there is the question of the internal debt, that is, the issue of using the funds held in convertible currency accounts to make so-called intervention purchases, "to improve the life of society." That is surreal. They steal your money to buy you something!

There was no clear starting point, however, and there were no solid proposals. None of the basic truths were stated—first, that Poland was internally and externally bankrupt, and second, that we will not pull ourselves out of the crisis relying on our own strength. If that had been said clearly, if we had described the state of the environment, if we had expressed the millions of tons of waste in terms of the dangers, the danger to the way in which people live, in the likelihood that one will give birth to a healthy child, and so on, stated how much clean water we have, how many lakes are biologically active, then we would have had a truly shocking vision.

Perhaps that would have been too shocking, but it has to be stated because what one hears in Parliament today from those people who were connected with the old establishment is that "Solidarity" has destroyed Poland, which is simply untrue, and that view has to be resisted.

On the other hand, interpreting the rejection of "wiping the slate clean" as having to do with companies can only be the formulation of someone who is an irresponsible populist. We also have to distinguish between democracy and totalitarianism. In a democracy, guilt has to be proven. Under totalitarianism, one has to prove one's innocence. We have never talked about getting rid of companies. We are pursuing a firm policy centered on explaining irregularities. There have been a lot of irregularities and, at times, we have perhaps even taken things to excess in exposing them and disregarding the external consequences. That may have been the case with the detention of the Polish National bank directors, for example. Successive Supreme Chamber of Control reports provide proof of such irregularities, but that does not provide grounds for launching a general witch-hunt. We have to be guided by the law, which often means that some things cannot be achieved overnight.

[Michnik] What you have just said about the law is what Prime Minister Mazowiecki always used to say, and what was said by the people who defended his government's policies. That is what made them the target of charges that they want to apply the principles of the rule of law under post-communism, when that is impossible because a revolution has to be carried out. That is what we heard in interviews given by the head of the Presidential Chancellery.

I would also disagree with what you said about a balance sheet. It was easier for the president, when he commenced his term of office, to commission such a balance sheet, than for Mazowiecki, whose government included Deputy Prime Minister Kiszczak, General Siwicki at defense, and Jaruzelski as the president. You are trying to burden Mazowiecki with the responsibility for what was the product of a certain set of objective circumstances that he did not create.

[Bielecki] That cannot be labeled a complaint. I believe that it was necessary for us. In a spirit of reconciliation, I can say that the president should commission such a document when he takes office. It is a document that we

are now being reproached for. So, it was necessary. People are now asking us for it and saying "What have you accomplished over the past two years?" I do not really view these things in personal terms.

[Michnik] What would you say the Polish political scene is like? What criteria determine today's divisions?

[Bielecki] The facts show that the political scene is highly pluralist. Actually, almost anything that can be thought of is contained in some group's program, but I hope that this is a certain transition stage, a formative stage for democracy, and we must pass through it calmly and patiently. After the elections, we will see a process of consolidation on the part of some groups and the disappearance of others.

For me, the key is a fundamental division between those who favor reforms and those who are against them. It is, for example, embarrassing to see the level of today's attacks on Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz, who has become a symbol for the market economy. Many of the criticisms are not worth the paper they are written on. My view is clear-cut: The main thing is to find sufficient strength within those groups that have emerged from "Solidarity" to continue with the process of reform.

[Michnik] What do you fear regarding the future? What do you see as presenting the greatest danger? What would be a positive scenario?

[Bielecki] At this hour—it is three o'clock in the morning—I will allow myself to run out of the door, and that seems to be what matters most to me at the moment. Our problem is that we have a great opportunity, an historic opportunity, to build a strong, democratic state with a healthy economy. What is more, we are involved in this process in healthy competition with new, emerging democracies. We were alone, but now there are several or a dozen countries that have the same goal. This produces healthy competition, and I would like our state to maintain its high position, to be the bearer or conveyor of these principles to, for example, the democracies that are emerging in the east.

Everything that aids this process should be supported and then, quite simply, at the end of the road, we will have a healthy state. Of course, the state will be at some stage of construction all the time but, at present, the stage is one of reconstruction, and that course must be maintained.

In regard to dangers, they are numerous, and we have tried to talk about this. Society is learning a new role, and at the moment, it is very easy to go the direction of populism, to think in a short-sighted way, that from the government's viewpoint or the perspective of individual people, even seems to be correct but is irresponsible from the perspective of the state. It is very easy to make all sorts of promises that cannot be kept. Quite simply, we need agreement among sensible people to confront these dangers courageously.

Sejm Criticizes Slow Pace of Privatization

AU2310130491 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Oct 91 p 2

['PS' report: "Sejm Criticizes Universal Privatization"]

[Text] The Sejm has recommended a halt to the general distribution of shares in investment funds to citizens and called upon the government to propose alternative methods of general privatization.

In a resolution adopted Saturday, the Sejm criticized the slow pace of privatizing the economy. The government is too slow in preparing the necessary legislation for privatization, says the resolution. The Sejm also criticized the Ministry of Ownership Changes for giving television publicity to ministerial privatization concepts and claiming that they already had the force of law, even though the Sejm had not yet passed therm.

On the other hand, the Sejm praised the government for creating a stock exchange and the Securities Commission, and for the speed with which small enterprises have been privatized.

Deputy Ryszard Bugaj (Solidarity of Labor) said the general distribution of shares in investment funds is a social injustice leading not to a franchisement of citizens, but to a disenfranchisement of them. Citizens would simply cash in their shares on secondary markets, he said. Such a method of privatization reduces the size of the state's income, that, given the budget deficit, could lead to tragic consequences.

General privatization means giving up commercial privatization, Bugaj continued. Investors will not wish to buy enterprises at their market price. They will prefer to wait until shares in these enterprises can be procured for next to nothing on secondary markets. That would mean a further drop in budget income. Bugaj described general privatization as "one of the biggest experiments that anyone has ever performed on an economy."

Responding to this, Janusz Lewandowski, minister of ownership changes, said that it would be an experiment to build a market economy on top of a command economy. "Faster ownership changes would mean a spontaneous privatization, not a controlled one," he said. "Our society is scared of corruption, and a controlled privatization is what they want to avoid."

Minister Lewandowski said that Polish society is far less tolerant of various methods of privatization than, for example, society in Hungary, where even an enfranchisement of managers is possible to achieve privatization.

"The Sejm resolution will be a bad signal to the rest of the world, because it will create confusion among potential investors," Minister Lewandowski told ZYCIE.

Foreign Ministry Rejects Citizen Defense Group Charges

LD2310202691 Warsaw PAP in English 2047 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 22—The Polish Foreign Ministry stated Tuesday that the charges against the draft Polish-Lithuanian declaration in its part relating to the rights of Polish minority brought by the Citizens Committee for the Defence of Poles in the Vilnius Region were unjustified and statements made by its leader showed his lack of knowledge of the ministry's work and misled public opinion.

Leader of the committee Ryszard Szawlowski said on Monday the draft was "self-defeating, worked out too fast, and containing legal errors."

The Foreign Ministry stated that "the defence of justified and legally protected interests of Poles in Lithuania has been an issue of crucial importance for the ministry" but a matter of equal significance was to ensure good-neighbourly and friendly relations with the Lithuanian state. According to the ministry the draft declaration meets both requirements.

Saying that several decisions by Lithuanian bodies or their lack aroused concern, the ministry stated that the development of Poland's relations with Lithuania, including a visit of the foreign minister to Vilnius, depended on finding favourable solutions to the problems of Polish minority in the republic.

Negotiators Say 'EC Bureaucracy' Undermined Talks

LD2410073591 Warsaw PAP in English 2314 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 23—Polish negotiators at the Poland-EC talks on association charged at a news conference on Wednesday that the EC bureaucracy was trying to undermine the political decisions of the "12" leaders.

Speaking about difficulties in the talks, the negotiators said that on many occasions provisions accepted in the main part of the treaty on association were annulled with appropriate annexes.

We still count on initialling the treaty in mid-November but the agreement would take effect as of March 1, 1992, and not January 1 as planned, the negotiators said.

The 7th round of talks ended in Brussels on Tuesday brought about some progress but Poland was surprised by the EC backing out from settlements agreed previously, for instance concerning trade in steel products. The period for eliminating quota restrictions on textiles still remains a disputable issue.

The most difficult questions relate to trade in foodstuffs. Poland is interested in gaining an integration clause guaranteeing that subsidies to the EC rural exports would not eliminate her from the Soviet market, Deputy Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Andrzej Olechowski said.

Speaking about the EC proposal to open Polish services market to EC banks and firms within five years, Government Plenipotentiary for European Integration Jacek Saryusz-Wolski stated that at least a ten-year transitory period was needed to set up financial, transport and construction institutions of a new kind.

Liberal Party Leader Interviewed on Elections

AU2310164691 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Donald Tusk, chairman of the Main Board of the Liberal Democratic Congress, by Ryszard Holzer and Marcin D. Zdort; place and date not given: "An Exclusive Way of Thinking"]

[Excerpts] [ZYCIE WARSZAWY] How would classicists of liberal thinking assess the present government?

[Tusk] I would like to see how classicists would find their way about in our very unclassical situation, but I think what you mean is to what extent the Bielecki government is a liberal one. I do not know, and I do not think anyone knows how one can pursue liberal politics in such an unliberal reality.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] What kind of party does the Liberal Democratic Congress intend to be? Does it want to fill half the political stage like the British Tories, or does it want to be a tongue of caution like the German Free Democratic Party?

[Tusk] As far as a precise ideological image is concerned, the Congress has few inhibitions. The Democratic Union or Center Accord do have such problems, to say nothing of the communists, who know nothing about themselves except for the fact that they have brains inside their heads, and some of them a slight hangover. The Congress presents an increasingly clear outline against the Polish political backdrop. I have no doubt that a "pure" but ideologically insignificant liberal party in Poland would be doomed to remain in the sidelines. Poland needs a large political movement that is firmly rooted in local communities, a movement capable of defending market reforms. In such a center-right-wing movement, there is room for the liberals, conservatives, republicans, and some Christian Democrats. The Congress should join them together. [passage omitted]

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Would you consider it a disaster if the Congress only gains a few seats, e.g. less than 10?

[Tusk] That might be a disaster for those who joined the Congress just because Bielecki became prime minister. However, I think a painful defeat of the Congress would upset all the political groups who are complaining about the great cost of being in power, especially at a time when many political forces are intent on discrediting authority

altogether and on convincing people that all power is corrupt. That is supposed to create a political alibi for the communists and convince people that democracy is as bad as communist dictatorship.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] And what will happen in the opposite situation, if the Congress wins more than 25 percent of the Sejm seats, and it will be impossible to form a government without the liberals?

[Tusk] If people vote for freedom, in other words, for the liberals, among others, we will not be able to escape our share of responsibility. We will not seek a convenient form of opposition, and I am sure opposition is going to be very convenient for some time yet.

Even if we do not find ourselves in the new government, which does not depend solely on us, we will support all those who have rejected the socialist myth and pledged to push the great Polish reforms onward. If after two years of reforms the free marketeers win 20-25 percent of the seats, and the hoi polloi win the rest, we will have a major problem. We must realize that other people apart from the liberals have visions of a new Poland. One can like or dislike a nonliberal Poland, but one has to accept the possibility of such a Poland all the same. [passage omitted]

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] What is your income?

[Tusk] The Congress reimburses me all my expenses incurred during party work, from gasoline and telephone calls, right up to white shirts and suits. That adds up to several million zlotys a month. I also have a salary as deputy editor of GAZETA GDANSKA, and I receive royalties from books.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] That must equal what the president earns. Is that fair?

[Tusk] Yes. I do not cost the state budget a single zloty. The taxpayers do not subsidize me. I was always obsessed with independence, including financial independence, even if it caused me losses.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] You have not yet appeared in the "Polish Zoo" [a satirical comedy television series, similar to "Spitting Image," where politicians are portrayed in animal form]. If you were to appear, which animal form would you like to have?

[Tusk] A duck. Donald Duck.

Nastase Statement on Abducted Diplomat

AU2310110691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0905 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/10/1991—"We keep being highly concerned about Mr. Liviu Radu's situation," stated Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase in an interview with daily TINERETUL LIBER. "As far as we are concerned, we have done everything possible, by messages and direct contacts with the international community. There are already some elements leading to the inference that the Indian authorities try and manage to find forms of contact with the kidnappers. But, "Minister Nastase added, "certain details of the stage of negotiations cannot be disclosed and the Indian authorities keep them confidential, given that the process of negotiations is under way and either party waits to see how far is the other party prepared to advance.

"By our efforts, which are not meant as a political pressure but as a modality to express the worry of public opinion, we hope we will be able to help settling his very worrying situation," Mr. Nastase stressed.

"Mrs. Radu," the minister added, "decided to postpone the hunger strike out of the wish to let the Indian authorities free to take action and not to interfere with the process of negotiation."

Senate Criticizes Attempt To Form Hungarian Enclave

AU2410122291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0925 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 24/10/1991—At the close of the Wednesday, October 23 sitting of Romania's Senate, Vice-President Vasile Mois read a statement to which the senators of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] did not subscribe. The statement was submitted to vote and approved. The UDMR senators abstained from vote.

The statement reads as follows:

Full of concern, Romania's Senate held debates, and condemns the intentions publicly expressed by a group of Romanian citizens of Hungarian nationality, living in the Counties of Covasna and Harghita, called "the UDMR Political Group of the Szeklers' Land," of undertaking actions in the period to come, in view of the proclamation of the territorial autonomy of "the Szeklers' land."

Expressing the feelings of indignation and revolt of the electorate, the Senate considers that the attempt to fulfil this project, as in fact any attempt at making ethnic enclaves on the territory of Romania, as an attempt at endangering the unity, integrity, and sovereignty of Romania, an illegal, provocative, separatist act, that can destabilize the political-social situation at home and deteriorate Romania's relations with its neighbours and with other states.

The UDMR parliamentary group made a statement to show that the so-called radical group, numbering a few people, does not represent the members of the Hungarian Union and its leadership. According to this statement, the group is not backed by the population of the two counties and by the local UDMR leaders, who strongly and unequivocally disavowed the intention of holding a referendum on this issue, on the occasion of the events that had been planned to be held at Lutita.

The Senate considers that the citizens of Romania, those belonging to ethnic minorities included, are ensured rights and freedoms that can be only exercised within the framework of the state of law that is being built in Romania, and the problems that could turn up can only be solved by making use of the democratic and lawful instruments of this state.

The members of the Senate appeal to all citizens to show power of judgment and responsibility in rejecting extremist, provocative acts, and prove by their deeds to understand the necessity of cooperation and mutual respect between ethnic Romanians and the national minorities, aiming at permanently ensuring political and social stability, at the overcoming of difficulties, the fulfilment of the ideals proclaimed by the December 1989 revolution, Romania's affirmation as a democratic state, according to the standards of European civilisation.

The leader of the UDMR group, Geza Szocs, read a protest in the same sitting against the way in which the issue was treated in parliament, and rejected the accusations made to the UDMR group.

AZI, DIMINEATA Condemn 'Hostile' UDMR Attitude

AU2310220291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1803 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1991—One could say, without fear to err, comment Romanian press analysts, that lately, besides the government crisis, the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] has come to hold the forefront of political life in Romania.

"And this, writes the daily AZI, is the consequence of this party's failure to keep pace with the natural requirements of a government crisis, but on the other hand, of its seemingly unconcealed efforts to have done everything in its power to deepen the hiatus at the end of September, beginning of October. The UDMR left the impression that it found pleasure in acting outside parliament rather than inside it, in giving a helping hand to undermine the state rather than to consolidate it." AZI specifically points out the UDMR's negative position to the principle that Romania is national unitary state: "in fact, this is where the UDMR is, as a political

party, most ambiguous, this is ultimately, the source of all political meanders the UDMR has been following: this is the starting point of the growingly entangled ball of contradictions defining the politica' force the UDMR intends to be. And recent facts (the new paper alludes to the episodes of "an exile government of Transylvania" and the autonomy claimed for the "Szecklers Land" by an "UDMR group of political consensus") reflect these tendencies better than anything else."

"In press releases and interviews abounding in ambiguities", further comments AZI, "the UDMR leaders, Mr. Geza Szocs appearing to be their champion, do nothing but involve their party in the labyrinth of mazy dealings. And the price could be great: the likely erosion of their credibility not only among Romanians, but also among their own ethnic group, interested to return to entente as the only alternative to all nationalisms and chauvinism that have poisoned along centuries the cohabitation between Hungarians and Szecklers on the one hand and Romanians as a majority on the other."

To UDMR's allegations that it has nothing to do with the anti-Romanian actions, that it is not involved in the so-called self-determination of the "Szecklers Land" Bucharest daily "DIMINEATA" retorts: "Oh yes, it has and it is, and in a very direct way, for that matter. Proof of this is item 13 of this party's programme which stipulates that 'the best guarantee of accomplishing the various individual and collective rights of the minorities is the instatement of a local self-governing system'... In any country of the world such a project would be considered hostile to the state's security and integrity and its authors brought to court. There is however one more question to ask: what reasons and what laws justify the maintenance in the power structure of the Romanian state of a party adverse to Romanians?"

UDMR Group Contemplates Withdrawal From Parliament

AU2310195291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1929 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRESS, 23/10/1991—In a communique forwarded to ROMPRES for release, the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR) Presidium announces that, "given this party's increasing doubts" as to the "credibility, aims and passions of parliament as an institution", it is requesting its parliamentary group "to carefully consider whether the UDMR's further participation in the country's legislative forum is rational."

Foreign Ministry's Chebeleu on USSR Treaty, Visits

AU2310202491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1947 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1991—Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman Ambassador Traian Chebeleu told his weekly news conference held on Wednesday, October 23, that the official visit Romanian foreign minister was supposed to pay to Spain over October 23-25 at the invitation of his Spanish counterpart Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez was postponed at the proposal of the Spanish side. The postponement was motivated by the deteriorating health condition of the Spanish foreign minister.

In reference to a recent address of the head of the Hungarian Parliament's Foreign Policy Commission Gyula Horn in the Hungarian Parliament where he criticized the debates in the Romanian Parliament on the events in Harghita and Covasna Counties, the Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesman Traian Chebeleu told the weekly news conference: "The debates in the Romanian parliament are on a very specific concrete matter. They refer to events in two Romanian Counties and not to relations with Hungary. Therefore, they are a domestic question. As concerns Mr. Gyula Horn's proposal, or initiative, on arranging discussions between the parliaments of Romania and Hungary, or rather between their foreign policy commissions, I wish to say that talks between the two countries are welcome any time and at any level, but that dialogue between parliaments cannot replace dialogue between governments. They can at best be complementary and that's how they should be.

As far as I know, Mr. Gyula Horn accepted some ten days ago an invitation of the Romanian Parliament's Foreign Policy Commission to visit Romania. Therefore, this is hardly a new proposition. It is a question of resuming a dialogue between the two Parliamentary Foreign Policy Commissions that opened in Bucharest in spring this year."

The treaty of friendship Romania concluded with the Soviet Union in April has not been submitted to parliament for ratification just because we want to wait and see how will the clauses in the treaties between the Soviet Union and the other East European states former Warsaw treaty members, mainly those referring to security, look like, Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman Traian Chebeleu told a news conference on October 23. He said there was a verbal understanding in principle between the Romanian and Soviet foreign ministers reconfirmed during the meeting between Adrian Nastase and Boris Pankin at the CSCE conference held in Moscow in September. The understanding refers to the fact that if another type of clause is to be reached with other European countries then we will renegotiate that clause, and others if necessary, in light of the developments occurred in the Soviet Union since the signing of the treaty. The fact was agreed upon. With this as a basis the Romanian foreign minister wrote a latter to the Soviet foreign minister officially proposing the renegotiation of the clauses needing to be renegotiated. An official answer is awaited and the opening of negotiations is to be agreed upon, Mr. Chebeleu stressed.

Romania's Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase will pay a visit to the Republic of Korea over 27-29 October.

As well as talks with the South Korean foreign minister, the visit will include a reception at the president of the republic and meetings with government and parliament members and businessmen, Foreign Ministry spokesman Traian Chebeleu told the weekly news conference.

The Romanian side will put forth a package of proposals apt to set Romania's relations with the Republic of Korea on a solid basis and to identify potential areas of cooperation.

Talks will be held in Bucharest over 29 October-2 November between experts of the Foreign Ministries of Romania and the Ukraine, Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesman Ambassador Traian Chebeleu told the weekly news conference on Wednesday.

They will actually resume the negotiations that started in Kiev in August on the draft declarations on cooperation, friendship and good neighborhood, and on the consular convention between Romania and the Ukraine.

In application of the provisions of the Vienna 1990 document referring to measures of building up confidence and security in Europe two fact-finding visit are taking place in Romania requested by Great Britain and France to verify the information supplied by Romania as regards military forces and the plans to equip them with systems of weapons and outfit of major importance.

On October 22 a team of British inspectors called on the Air Force Regiment at Giarmata, and today, October 23, French inspectors are paying a visit to the land-based missiles brigade at Ineu, the Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman told a weekly news conference.

The Government of Romania welcomes the agreement on a Mideast peace conference due to open in the Spanish capital on 30 October, cosponsored by the presidents of the United States and the Soviet Union.

The start of negotiations is a historic landmark in the effort made over the years for the peaceful settlement of the conflict. We particularly praise the efforts made by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker whose perseverent diplomatic activity and wish for peace in a critical area of the world were decisive in overcoming the problems. We also appreciate the role of the Soviet diplomacy in paving the way for the conference.

We welcome the realism shown by the parties to the conflict when they took the way to negotiations, the only apt to ensure a just political settlement, in the spirit of international law.

The Government of Romania is hopeful that the upcoming negotiations will make this wish come true and the conditions in place for the growth of its traditional relations with all the states in the area, the Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry says in a statement presented by its spokesman Ambassador Traian Chebeleu at a news conference on 23 October.

In reference to the opening in Paris today of the peace conference on Cambodia, Ambassador Chebeleu said: Romania welcomed and supported the constructive initiatives and efforts for a peaceful settlement in Cambodia.

The Government of Romania hails the signing of the peace agreement in Cambodia and expresses its confidence that its implementation will give the Cambodian people the possibility to exercise their right to self-determination for free and fair elections under U.N. supervision.

Ambassador to Sofia Assesses Relations With Bulgaria

AU2310195891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1849 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1991—The Ruse-Giurgiu phenomenon has negatively influenced the good relations between Romania and Bulgaria since, unfortunately, there are different opinions on the pollutants in use.

In an interview he granted to the "ROMPRES" special envoy, Romania's ambassador to Sofia Alexandru Petescu shows that common agreement was reached on an international expertise to establish the polluting sources in the Ruse-Giurgiu area, including the nuclear power plant at Kozloduy.

The conclusions the UNEP [United Nations Ecological Protection] rapporteur conveyed to the two sides in February 1991 show that pollution in the Ruse-Giurgiu zone is mainly caused by the emission of known pollutants on either banks of the Danube, added to which is the smog in the area. Both sides admitted his conclusions, which reflected in the elaboration of a convention environmental protection the Bulgarian side has not been empowered yet to sign. [sentence as received] The Romanian side is ready to do so any time, the ambassador specifies.

The idea conclusions are being waited for after the international expertise on the nuclear power plant of Kozloduy, which have to be observed without any concession, says the ambassador.

Mentioning that during the Romanian-Bulgarian meeting in Sofia at a prime minister level on September 12 stress was laid on the two countries' interests in collaboration in Europe and in the Balkans, the Romanian ambassador considers that both sides should show growing concern for boosting the Romanian-Bulgarian economic ties in the new spirit of competition and fairness.

Nastase, German Delegation View Relations With Moldova

AU2310220091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2027 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1991—Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase received on Wednesday [23 October] a delegation of the Hans Seidel Foundation of Germany.

The guests inquired about the relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova, the Ukraine and the Soviet Union in light of the changes occurred in the area.

Aspects of Romania's stand on the situation in Yugoslavia were also tackled.

Isarescu on Foreign Financial Assistance for Reform

AU2310105391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2100 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/10/1991—Back home after attending the IMF and World Bank annual session, Mr. Mugur Isarescu, governor of the National Bank of Romania, stated with the daily "ROMANIA LIBERA" that the results of his visit were encouraging, mentioning IMF Executive Director Jean-Michel Camdessus' clear-cut statement.

This world organization has committed itself to more vigorously support the Romanian reforming programme, probably with additional financial resources as well. We are waiting for an IMF delegation next week to discuss the programme we have to develop and the financing variants. The Common Market has reiterated its pledge regarding 250 billion dollars worth of a first phase within the one-billion-dollars financial aid the Group of 24 promised this year in spring. The talks with the representatives of the World Bank showed that procedures would be hastened for the granting of the restructuring loan worth 300 million dollars as well as other planned loans. The EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] has in view the financing of investment projects in the sphere of infrastructure and the backing of the private economic sector.

Generally speaking, the signals perceived from the representatives of various international bodies and financial circles evince that the discrimination toward Romania benefits no one and, as the progress in economic reform gets more obvious, the financial support to be granted to Romania will grow more important. As a matter of fact, the statements made public by the IMF, the group of the seven industrialized countries and the Group of 24 show such a positive shift in speech, as they mention the need for the external financing of Romania's reforming program to be more substantial and in due time.

Stolojan Chairs Government Meeting on Energy Issues

AU2310215791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1934 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1991—The Government of Romania met on 23 October under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan to discuss energy supplies for the coming period, the necessary resources for economic activities, the population's supplies and the end of farm works.

Industry Minister Dan Constantinescu showed the present very critical situation could be solved by substantial foreign support, especially by loans to import crude and fuel oil. The prime minister asked that the necessary credit sources be found within the shortest possible time to make up for the hard currency deficit, along with measures to deblock exports that can bring immediate financial resources.

The government also analyzed and approved several decisions to improve current activity, including the membership of the Executive Bureau, the creation of a local administration department that will have an important role to play in putting the conditions in place for local and general elections.

Transport Minister Traian Basescu outlined the development of the labor conflict at Bucharest's Marshalling Yard which had ended, as it was announced.

Rail Engineers End Strike; Minister Assesses Damage

AU2310215691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2014 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1991—Engine drivers and their assistants working in Bucharest's freight and passenger trains marshalling yards ended their strike in the afternoon of 23 October as a result of a joint agreement of the two unions leaders.

A cabinet meeting earlier in the day was told by Transport Minister Traian Basescu that long-distance traffic had been normal as a result of the position of Romania's Engine Drivers Federation. In the evening of 22 October locomotives were sent to Bucharest from the nearest marshalling yards so that the traffic schedule be observed.

The minister who went to Bucharest's marshalling yard to talk with engine drivers and union leaders said: "in fact, the strike was unlawful and we submitted the case to the higher court yesterday. As we spoke with the drivers we realized they were misinformed about the lawfulness of their action. Their leaders failed to tell them the whole truth and it all boiled down to pride as the real motive of the strike which was illegal". As a result, 59 trains are blocked of which 31 with a total of 2221 cars are in Bucharest, adding to which are more others in Craiova, Timisoara, Galati and Brasov, the minister said.

Besides, trains are blocked in other areas as Bucharest was unable to take them.

Assessing the situation as very serious, Minister Basescu added that of the 2221 cars stationed in Bucharest, 115 are loaded with foods, 84 with grains, including fodder, 139 with fuel wood for the population, 68 with fu[illegible] coal, 19 with fertilizers, six cars with medicines.

Spiroiu Plans 'Revigoration' of Defense Industry

AU2310110391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0948 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/10/1991—"Our national doctrine is defensive and within it we think that

the country's defence should be done by the whole population able of military effort," says in an interview with TINERETUL LIBER Lieutenant-General Nicolae Spiroiu, minister of national defence of Romania, mentioning that "as it remains a defensive doctrine, it means that the dimension of the military body is determined by defence self-sufficiency, by the possibility to give gradual riposte. We consider these things also on restructuring the army, a process that will be speeded up. It accords also with the program of the current government of speeding up the reform, in the military domain included."

Answering a question about the Army's role in the current political context, the respondent says: "To my mind, the Army's assuming a role in governing the country is out of question. We consider that the Army should remain politically neutral. But it should be an element of stability, a warrantor of independence, of territorial unity and integrity, of the order of law, when this is beyond the possibilities of the bodies with attributions on this line. In such moments the Army too, has to take action according to the law, to ensure the constitutional order of law and only that."

Referring to the necessity to modernize the Army, the Romanian minister mentions: "We contemplate a revigoration of the national defence industry, of course with far smaller dimensions and activities, consequent to the turning civil of a part of this capacity. The revigoration pursues the programs of manufacturing of certain categories of combat technique. I mean especially the armoured vehicles and the aviation. We also want to make available a part of the funds we have for modern transmission, radio location, antiaircraft defence, generally defensive systems that should complete the Army's equipment in this respect."

Defense Minister Meets French Military Delegation

AU2310195491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1912 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1991—In keeping with the administrative arrangement of collaboration between the Defense Ministries of Romania and France, the first working meeting of the Romanian-French Joint Military Commission of Cooperation took place in Bucharest, over October 17-20, participated in by generals and officers of the two countries.

They analyzed important aspects of the unfolding of bilateral activities after the signing of the administrative arrangement and agreed measures for the development of the relations between the two armed forces, the expansion of their domains and forms of collaboration.

The talks focussed also on the resumption of traditional links between the two armed forces, the sending for studies to France of Romanian officers and cadets, cooperation in military technique, drilling of troops of various arms, as well as an approach to new forms of cooperation, such as the organization of joint scientific activities, exchange of know how and valuable scientific works, fact-finding visits, the twinning of military units of the same kind in the two armies.

The French military were received by National Defense Minister Lieutenant-General Niculaie Spiroiu and met with other leading cadres of the Romanian Armed Forces, appreciating on the occasion the results of the Romanian-French military collaboration and their future orientation.

Papers on PNL Participation in New Government

AU2310220191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1805 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1991—"The liberals will, by all means, be faced with the dilemma of either governing but, being inconsequent, will no longer be credible, or rejecting the role of figurants and then lose power, that is the three portfolios", writes the article "Liberal Dilemmas", published by the daily "COTIDIANUL", referring to the participation of the National Liberal Party to the new government. Noticing that "the degree of dependence (the National Liberal Party, PNL chairman Radu Campeanu) accepted went far beyond the threshold of calculated risk", the PNL participation in the government made a breach in the united democratic opposition", and the liberals accepted in fact to become "the scapegoats" of the failure of the transition government that was, anyhow unavoidable", the author of the article mentioned nevertheless that "in spite of the handicap it had at the start, Mr. Campeanu's party had, at least theoretically, a chance of getting out of this suspect case of opportunism, safe and sound, if not even to decisively influence the policy of the new government. This chance would come from the fact that the liberals are opened more doors than the members of the National Salvation Front at the European Community and the International Monetary Fund, which could be an advantage for the Romanian economy. Mr. Ionescu-Quintus, the new minister of justice could decide, at least symbolically, on the communist crimes to be investigated and could start the process of purging the magistrature. The author of the article draws the pessimist conclusion that, given "the reinforced concrete structures of the Roman's cabinet, no good auspices are in sight, and the new governing will probably not be made in the liberal spirit, but it will only prolong the nefarious provisional character of relative reforms".

The daily "COTIDIANUL" also published a protest, signed by members of the "Union of Former Political Detainees of Romania", based in Geneva, saying, among other things, that "we were sad to learn that the National Liberal Party took part in a government dominated by former and present communists. PNL now offers a guarantee to an undemocratic regime, with no economic capacity, that flagrantly contradicts the protests the national-liberals made after the May 20, 1990 elections, contesting the legitimacy of the then leaders, with which they collaborate at present".

On the other hand, Corneliu Coposu, chairman of the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party, said in an interview with the daily "CURIERUL NATIONAL", that the political party he is head of "will have a constructive stand", by supporting the initiatives of the new government favoring democratic openness and real privatisation. He added: "I do not think somebody can reproach the National Peasant Party with participating in the government. He thinks that will no longer endanger the cooperation among the parties signatories to the convention for instituting democracy.

For his part, Mr.Radu Campeanu said in an interview with the daily "CURIERUL NATIONAL" that he had informed the members of the convention for instituting democracy about the participation of the National Liberal Party to Mr. Stolojan's government. The PNL leader added that the main reason for this participation was the organization of a normal, civilized electoral campaign and of correct elections, that fully reflect the electorate's will". After mentioning that the participation of the National Liberal Party in the government will in no way endanger the existence of the convention, Mr. Campeanu added: "we have taken a political risk, but we are of the opinion that, given the political crisis created, it was normal for opposition forces to participate in such a government. But if we realize blockings are made on strictly political criteria, the PNL (government) members will resign".

Civic Alliance Expresses Support for Government

AU2310215891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1950 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1991—We will support the Stolojan Cabinet to the extent it takes action for economic reform, brings peace to the country and fairly prepares the elections, Civic Alliance Party President Nicolae Manolescu told ROMPRES. If this government does not get involved in political strife it may stay in office until the elections, he went on.

On the future of the Civic Alliance Party, Mr. Manolescu said his party would field candidates in both local and general elections. We are cautious about our chances, he said.

International

Mesic To Attend Hague Conference 25 Oct

LD2310145991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] At Lord Carrington's invitation, Stipe Mesic, president of the Yugoslav Presidency, will leave for The Hague the day after tomorrow, 25 October, to attend a plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia. In the invitation to President Mesic, Lord Carrington expressed the hope that all eight members of the Federal Presidency would arrive in The Hague and informed President Mesic that a copy of the invitation had been sent to Vice President Branko Kostic.

'New Arrangements' for Settlement Made in Hague

LD2310215591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2004 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, October 23 (TANJUG)—The new version of the document of the European Community (E.C.) for resolving the Yugoslav crisis, as TANJUG correspondent in The Hague learns, mostly contains the ideas included in the previous text, but presented in a different form, with more 'contract' terms.

A representative of the Dutch Foreign Ministry today declined to say how far the new version has taken into consideration the objections raised by President of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic last Friday. The representative only said that the formula for a loose association of the Yugoslav republics has remained, but 'in a slightly different form.'

Of the six Yugoslav republican leaders present at the plenary session last week in The Hague, only Milosevic failed to approve the prepared document for settling the Yugoslav crisis.

Milosevic had assessed that the idea about a loose association was an attempt to eliminate Yugoslavia and urged that The Hague conference go on with its work.

Conference Chairman Lord Carrington and E.C. Ministerial Council President Hans van den Broeck last week ordered the conference committees to stop work.

The three committees—for relations among the Yugoslav republics, for economic questions, and for human rights—today resumed work at separate sessions two days ahead of the new Yugoslav summit in The Hague.

As TANJUG correspondent learned from informed sources, all three committees will today and tomorrow consider the new version of the 'arrangements for a general settlement' of the Yugoslav crisis.

Speaking to experts from Yugoslavia who are taking part in the work of the committees, TANJUG correspondent got the impression that in addition to the Serbian, some other republican delegations on the committees would also present detailed objections to the concrete proposed solutions.

According to the assessment of the members of the delegation of the Yugoslav Federation, which is headed by Yugoslav Minister for Justice and Federal Administration Vlado Kambovski, the future Yugoslav community must be more closely defined in its international personality and continuity.

'This would not deny the individual republics the recognition of their status as independent states, but the new Yugoslav community would enjoy international personality in the common areas of life,' it is underscored in the Yugoslav delegation.

The Yugoslav delegation circles have assessed that all common spheres, especially economic relations, are very limited in the E.C. document.

'The market must allow for a free flow of not only goods, but also capital, services and labour, which are the foundations of the Western European integration. It is also necessary to have closer ties in the monetary system, and also a common currency, which would be convertible,' the Yugoslav experts said.

The representatives of the Yugoslav Federation told TANJUG correspondent that they would insist, at the committee sessions, on the importance of adopting measures for the period of transition pending the close of political negotiations on the fate of Yugoslavia.

Kazakhstan To Purchase 100,000 Tonnes of Corn

LD2310143191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0826 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 22 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade enterprise Progress and the Association for Foreign Economic Relations of the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan have concluded an agreement on the export of 100,000 tonnes of commercial and 1,500 tonnes of seed maize to the Soviet Union. The value of the deal, which is to be realized by the end of the year, is estimated at 17 million dollars, as Progress representatives told the press.

The partners from Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union at the same time signed a protocol on intended deliveries of another 400,000 tonnes of maize next year. A record maize harvest of more than 13 million tonnes is expected in Yugoslavia this fall.

Commentator Says Hungary Training Croatian Saboteurs

LD2410093591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0422 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 23 (TANJUG)—"After delivering its lethal load of Kalashnikovs for armed formations in Croatia, Hungary has carried on smuggling arms

into Croatia," Milovan Drecun, a military and political commentator, said in the Belgrade TV prime-time newscast this evening. "Of late, crop-dusting or transport planes are used for this purpose," he went on. "According to my figures, about 60 such planes have been shot down over the Yugoslav territory, brimming with arms meant for Croatia," he said.

In October last year, Hungary sold at least 4,000 Kalashnikov rifles to Croatia, it was learned in the Ministry of Defence here.

In addition, Hungary is training Croatian saboteurs, terrorists, well-known Ustashas and extremists in its territory. There are three such camps on former Soviet army firing ranges, the commentator emphasized. One of the three is situated three kilometres far from the town of Mohacs towards the frontier crossing of Udvar, another near the village of Berenet, and still another in the vicinity of Hatasvar.

From among Croatia's police and national guard escapees, Hungary has formed a regiment of some 1,000 ustasha volunteers, trained and armed them, and prepared for infiltrating them into Yugoslavia's territory, he said.

Federal

Kostic: Incomplete Presidency Not To Go to Hague

AU2410082891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, has convened a Presidency session for today at 1000. Members of the collective head of state should decide on the platform for the Third Plenary Session of the Conference on Yugoslavia that should be held in The Hague tomorrow.

Apart from all Presidency members, also invited to the session are the presidents of the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council and the federal secretaries for national defense, internal affairs, and foreign affairs.

By the way, in his interview given to Belgrade Television last night, Kostic noted that one is not going to go to the conference in The Hague if, as he put it, dissidents from the Presidency fail to attend its session again.

Croatians, Slovenians Absent From Federal Session

LD2310164491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1550 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—Delegates from Croatia and Slovenia again failed to turn up for the meeting of the delegates in the Federal Chamber today where the draft Hague document for the solution of the Yugoslav crisis is being discused.

Today they [Federal Chamber delegates] were joined by delegates from Macedonia and Albanian national delegates from Kosovo and Metohija.

EC, Army, Dubrovnik Officials Discuss Evacuation

LD2310180691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Cavtat, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—The evacuation of those citizens of Dubrovnik who wish to be evacuated was in the focus of talks today between representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], members of the EC peace mission and representatives of the city of Dubrovnik.

YPA representative Sofronije Jeremic told journalists that attention focused on evacuations in other directions. He expressed the view that some solutions to the existing problems had been found.

As reported earlier, the evacuation from Dubrovnik has been carried out only on territory under Croatian control and has not included about 4,500 Serbs living in the city.

In a brief press statement the new members of the EC negotiating mission said that "only formal talks about establishing cooperation were held today".

It has been agreed that the talks should continue over the next few days.

Assembly Deputies Find EC Crisis Solutions 'Unacceptable'

LD2310215891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1939 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 23 (TANJUG)—A majority of the deputies in the Yugoslav parliament today assessed The Hague document on resolving the crisis as unacceptable without significant alterations, because it negated the existence of Yugoslavia, its constitutional and legal systems, and legal authorities.

The Hague document was discussed by the bicameral Assembly's Federal Chamber and several parliamentary committees without the participation of deputies from the Republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia, and ethnic Albanian deputies, who are all in favour of establishing sovereign states and are therefore boycotting the work of Federal organs.

It was pointed out in the debate that acceptance of The Hague document of October 18 would be tantamount to a "capitulation of the country."

It was also stressed that no solutions imposed from without were acceptable and that the fate of the country had to be resolved inside the country and in a legal manner.

Most deputies said they hoped The Hague document would be appropriately altered and that deputies of the Federal Assembly would be invited to take part in the peace negotiations.

"When it accepted the engagement of the European Community, Yugoslavia did not transfer to the E.C. its sovereign right to decide on its own fate," Ambassador at the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat Milan Vares said.

Speaking in the foreign policy committee, Vares said The Hague document offered a loose union in a common market, but made no mention whatsoever of foreign policy or the army, which were the prerogatives of a sovereign country.

The committee for socio-political relations said The Hague document offered solutions which contravened international law and documents of the international community.

The committee said any decisions on the fate of Yugoslavia made without the participation of the Federal parliament and legally elected Federal organs would have no legal effect and would not be binding for Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities.

The commission for the monetary system and foreign economic relations said The Hague document provided for a state of affairs where the republics would become international legal entities and the lowest level of economic integration, while leaving open the question of common institutions and the transitional period.

A minimum which must be insisted on in The Hague, it was said, is a single currency, common foundations of the monetary and fiscal policies, one central bank and a customs union. Economic experts pointed out that the "pure customs union" offered by the E.C. placed the more developed republics (Slovenia and Croatia) in a privileged position, and was thus unacceptable in the long run.

It was decided in the Federal parliament that its conclusions would be sent to the participants in the peace conference in The Hague, and that they would be asked to take them into consideration during the redrafting of the document on Yugoslavia.

Bulatovic Views Hague Declaration

LD2310223891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1828 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Titograd, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—"It is not Lord Carrington who has destroyed Yugoslavia, rather the conference on Yugoslavia is taking place precisely because a civil war has broken out in this country which must be stopped," Momir Bulatovic said on Radio Montenegro today. He stressed this in the context of a reply on the character of the Hague declaration, which is in his view "a document written with exceptional diplomatic wisdom" and which represents, as he put it, "a mechanical compromise in which every one of us can find solutions which are satisfactory for him, and under item 12 and the arbitration process, which will be in a position to take decisions only when the 'gun barrels have cooled', all contentious issues not covered by this document can be resolved.

What Europe can offer us can only be the model which is before us, which is beset with a number of weaknesses. A lot more work has still to be done on it, Bulatovic said.

As for the part of the Hague declaration dealing with the position of the Serbs in Croatia, Bulatovic said that it was "far more difficult for Tudjman to sign than for Slobodan Milosevic."

Constitutional Court To Assess Presidency Procedures

LD2310225491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2141 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 23 (TANJUG)—The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia initiated a procedure today to assess the constitutionality of provisions of the rules of procedure of the Federal Presidency under which certain decisions and orders in the field of national defence need not be made public.

The Constitutional Court has informed the federal parliament that it has initiated the procedure on its own and was motivated by the July 18 decision the State Presidency for the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) to be withdrawn from Slovenia.

The decision by the collective head of state was published neither in the official herald of the SFRY nor in the official organ of the YPA.

Constitutional and judicial control was thereby made impossible, 'grossly violating the country's constitution,' the court said.

The publication of enactments of the state organs is compulsory under the constitution. However, the State Presidency's rules of procedure state that its decisions are published in the official herald of the SFRY, unless the collective head of state decrees otherwise.

Government, Opposition Devise 'Draft' Settlement

LD2310220391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1850 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 23 (TANJUG)—A round table of government and opposition parties in Yugoslavia said today it has worked out a draft on a settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, defining the areas under provisional international administration and including an expertise on the minority rights and succession to the hitherto common state.

Nebojsa Popov, a prominent leader of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative (UJDI) and president of its Serbian branch, told a press conference that

the round table would discuss the draft next Saturday in Bosnia-Hercegovina's capital of Sarajevo.

According to the draft, the provisional international administration would cover the areas which are currently the scene of fighting in Yugoslavia and where, according to the 1991 population census, the Serbs are in the majority. The administration would last 15 years and would be followed by a referendum at which the citizens would vote on the future of those areas.

Under the proposal, the international administration would be exercised by a committee of senior commissioners, to be appointed by the E.C. ministerial council and the committee of senior CSCE officials.

The proposal "implies the presence of an adequate international police and military force in the crisis areas," the round table spokesmen said.

They added that the international administration would have as its goals restoration of peace and the organization of economic and political life and judiciary in those areas, as well as the return of refugees.

Popov said that a "new communication" must be established between the main political factors in Yugoslavia and assessed the calling of today's consultative meeting of the Yugoslav Presidency as an attempt to "preserve the regime, not the country."

The Yugoslav Presidency yetserday called the top representatives of all republics and autonomous communities wishing to stay in Yugoslavia to attend today's meeting in Belgrade.

Presidency Meeting on Means of Resolving Crisis

LD2310184291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1724 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—The following statement has been sent to TANJUG from the consultative meeting held today in the SFRY Presidency:

A consultative meeting was held in the SFRY Presidency today of the legitimate representatives of the republics and nations who have expressed their interest in remaining in a common state of Yugoslavia, at which the following conclusions were adopted:

1. The participants in the consultative meeting support the stances of the SFRY Presidency on the EC proposals for a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis that were put forward by Branko Kostic, SFRY Presidency vice president, at the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague on 18 October.

2. The participants in the consultative meeting consider that the points of departure for resolving the state-political crisis in Yugoslavia, which were adopted by the SFRY Presidency at its meeting on 22 October 1991, are a good basis and orientation for the activity of the organs and representatives of the nations who wish to remain in Yugoslavia, which should be transformed democratically. At the same time, they accept the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency of 22 October concerning an increase in the defense capability of the country in keeping with the current situation, seeing in this firm guarantees for peace and a democratic outcome of the Yugoslav crisis.

3. The participants consider that all legitimate political institutions in the country, from the SFRY Assembly to the municipal assemblies, should state their views on the solution of the Yugoslav crisis, and they consider that just and legitimate final solutions can only be established through the expression of the will of the people in a referendum. The fate of the nations and citizens of Yugoslavia who wish to continue to coexist must be resolved only in accordance with their wishes. No one should take this right away from them.

4. The focus for the process of resolving the Yugoslav crisis must be in Yugoslavia. The interests and wishes of all nations and republics must be respected on the basis of equality. Only in this way can the Yugoslav crisis be resolved in a peaceful way.

To this end, the participants in the consultative meeting call on the legitimate representatives of all nations and republics to jointly resolve the existing disagreements in the interests of peace and the interests of equal respect for the equality of every Yugoslav nation and all citizens of Yugoslavia.

In accordance with this and with the aim of ensuring unity of action of all nations and their legitimate organs of government for the preservation of Yugoslavia, the participants are agreed that, with the aim of realizng the aforementioned tasks and stances, sessions of the SFRY Assembly and republican assemblies and other territorial units should be held at which immediate measures should be established for their realization.

Court on Presidency Decision on Troop Transfer

LD2310164891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1345 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Constitutional Court has sent a letter to the SFRY Assembly in which they point out several violations of the SFRY Constitution and of federal laws, committed with the unpublished decision by the SFRY Presidency on the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] transfer from Slovenia. They also give the reasons which prevented them from formally assessing the constitutionality of this decision.

The letter notes that the presidency decision, contrary to the Constitution and the laws on all-people's defense, military conscription and service in the Armed Forces, frees the citizens of Slovene nationality and members of other nations and nationalities living on Slovene territory of the inviolable and unalienable constitutional

obligation of our country's defense and of their service in our Armed Forces, although the presidency has no right to do so.

In the opinion of the Constitutional Court, the decision jeopardizes the implementation of the constitutional provision regarding the SFRY structure and the SFRY borders. The letter notes that the consequence of the decision is the abandonment of a section of the SFRY border and, in fact, a change of SFRY territory contrary to the Constitution. The fact that the SFRY border on the territory of one republic within the SFRY is no longer protected by the YPA as the joint Armed Forces of the peoples of Yugoslavia, whose legal duty is to do so.

The Constitutional Court has not initiated a process of assessing the constitutionality and the legality of the SFRY Presidency decision on YPA units' transfer from Slovenia because it has ascertained that the decision had not been published in a manner prescribed by the Constitution. The Constitutional Court, it is stressed, cannot evaluate the constitutionality of general acts issued by state organs not made public in the prescribed manner because they are not part of our legal system and for this reason have no legal validity.

The Constitutional court considers it to be its duty to inform the SFRY Assembly that an act like the SFRY Presidency decision on fransferring YPA units from Slovenia has not been published and that, despite this fact, it is being applied, says the letter by the Yugoslav Constitutional Court in conclusion.

Kostic Chairs Closed-Door Consultative Meeting

LD2310132591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1228 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 23 (TANJUG)—A consultative meeting of the "most responsible representatives of the peoples who are especially interested in preserving, transforming and securing the continuity of the Yugoslav state community, "began in Belgrade slightly after 11 A.M. GMT, as announced by the Presidency of Yugoslavia Information Service.

The meeting is presided by Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic. Exactly who attends the meeting was not immediately available as it was being held behind closed doors. However, an official public statement was expected after the meeting.

Kostic Attends Federal Chamber Session

LD2310203991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1825 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic was present at today's meeting of delegates of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly which is debating The Hague agreement for the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis.

Federal Executive Council Vice President Aleksandar Mitrovic, Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Petar Gracanin and Stane Brovet and Milvoje Maksic, deputy federal secretaries for national defense and foreign affairs, also attended

Kostic Says Presidency Pushing To Lift Blockades

LD2210213691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1855 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 22 (TANJUG)—Vice President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Branko Kostic today received a delegation of parents of soldiers captured in the republic of Croatia, who told him they have no information about their children for some time now, the Presidency's Information Secretariat stated.

Vice President Kostic said that the Croatian leadership persists in ignoring all ceasefire agreements and added that the Presidency of Yugoslavia will go on insisting on raising the blockade of Yugoslav People's Army barracks in Croatia and exchanging captured soldiers as priority humanitarian tasks. The International and the Yugoslav Red Cross have to get involved in this task even more actively than up to now, he pointed out.

Vice President Kostic promised that everything will be done to bring about the release of captured soldiers.

In this connection the members of the delegation today met with the chief of the general staff of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, General Blagoje Adzic.

National Bank Collects Dinars in Slovenia

LD2410062691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1133 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 23 (TANJUG)—A special commission of the National Bank of Yugoslavia (NBJ) has established that five billion 771.9 million dinars (around 444 million marks according to the official exchange rate of 13 dinars to the mark) have been registered at the National Bank of Slovenia and have been prepared for transport.

An additional eight billion 128 million dinars have been secured through the exchange of money coupons at the public accounting service offices in 14 Slovenian cities, as Vice Governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia Vukasin Markovic told Belgrade daily POLITIKA.

By the end of the month, when the deadline for exchanging dinars for coupons expires in Slovenia, Markovic said, around 15 billion dinars will be collected, which is 85 percent of the total amount of dinars in cash in Slovenia.

The sum of four billion uncollected dinars in cash, according to Markovic, is significantly less than the expected sum which could be misused.

Government To Confiscate Dinars From Slovenians

LD2410062991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1246 GMT23 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 23 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government has passed a decree under which all Slovenian citizens will have their dinars confiscated without compensation in those parts of Yugoslavia where the dinar is still the only means of payment, as announced by the federal government information secretariat.

Following October 8, when Slovenia introduced its own currency, there was an influx of dinars in other parts of the country.

Those dinars which are left in Slovenia are being used for buying foreign currency on the black market, which has resulted in a drop of the dinar's value.

The new decree is a supplement to the Federal Government's decision on banning payment operations with the Republic of Slovenia which was adopted a week ago, as set out by the Federal Government Information Secretariat.

Slovenia

Jansa Views Kadijevic Statement, Army Strength

AU2310171391 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1410 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Interview with Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa by Radio Slovenia correspondent Bozena Krzisnik in Ljubljana—live]

[Excerpt] [monitored in progress] [Jansa] Two things are obvious from this statement by Mr. Kadijevic, which was in all its points also confirmed by the conclusions of this half-SFRY Presidency. One. The Army needs fresh soldiers. Two. It needs a more convincing foreign enemy, therefore, Mr. Kadijevic sharply attacked Germany in his statement, claiming that Germany is carrying out its third attack upon Yugoslavia. A certain determination radiates from everything that he said and from what the Serbian Presidency concluded, and this is that the Army will continue fighting. Other information arriving from abroad and claiming that the Army is purchasing more weapons suggests that the war will continue.

[Krzisnik] Mr. Jansa, would you agree with the report by, I believe it was VIJESNIK, that the Yugoslav Army is being pardoned by the international community because during the Gulf War revealed Iraqi military positions to the Americans?

[Jansa] Well these are just various speculations. Even if this has been the case, the pardons are not such that the governments of the international community and also the United States could simply ignore what the Army is doing and what the Army intends to do.

[Krzisnik] How would you assess the power of the Army?

[Jansa] Well, this power is still relatively big if one equates power with the number of airplanes, tanks, and other ammunition, and significantly smaller if one considers other factors like motivation of soldiers, economic situation in those parts of Yugoslavia, that is to say, in those republics that most strongly support the Army, and some other elements. To summarize, the Army's power is very relative. However, if this conflict spreads from Croatia to Bosnia or perhaps even further, for instance to Sandzak and Kosovo, then this Army has greatly overestimated its capabilities. There is no way that the Army could control these crisis areas as it is suffering losses in Croatia despite its predominance in the sphere of military hardware.

[Krzisnik] Could Milosevic and Kadijevic be stopped?

[Jansa] Now, this would be hard. In a way, the Army's fate is now closely, or I would even say, completely linked with the fate of Serbian politics. Only a change in Serbian politics could bring about changes in the Army and different behavior. Therefore, one can only expect the end of the Army's aggression and changes in its structure, as well as the end of the war that is a direct result of this aggression, once the changes have taken place in Serbia.

[Krzisnik] I would like to know how much more longer it will take before the international community—especially those countries that have the power to intervene—finally undertakes any actions, considering that lately the southern Balkans, especially Bulgaria, at least talks to the NATO pact, if not linking itself directly with the NATO. Would it be Milosevic's aggression on Macedonia and destabilization of the southern Balkans that would prove fatal for him?

[Jansa] First, we have to make a distinction between military intervention and other sorts of intervention. In my opinion, economic sanctions would have better results at the moment, especially the embargo on the import of oil, that is to say, embargo on energy supplies for Serbia. In my opinion, it will still be quite a long time before military intervention takes place. I think that this would only take place if the economic measures had not produced any results and after certain other political steps were taken. I am referring here to the recognition of the republics as this would give legal grounds for such an intervention.

Here I must also add that a military intervention is a dangerous step for many European governments. They are aware that they will not be endangered if they delay it a little, regardless of another thousand Croats, or Slovenes dying in the mean-time and some more towns of the former Yugoslavia being flattened. However, they will be very much endangered if they send their soldiers to intervene militarily and then some soldiers die, as questions will be asked at home as to who is responsible for it. This is cynical in a way, but it is a political reality. [passage omitted]

Assembly Discusses Army Withdrawal, Refugees

AU2210123091 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Text] Yesterday afternoon, the Assembly Commission for Defense met in Ljubljana. Minister Janez Jansa said that the Army would leave Slovenia as scheduled. Weapons and equipment will be returned to the Territorial Defense forces, the rest of weapons and equipment belonging to the Yugoslav Army will stay in Slovenia until the final accounts are settled. Data about refugees in our republic—there are more than 20,000 of them—were also discussed. They are a great burden for Slovenia. Therefore, it was said that it would be necessary to apply stricter criteria for granting refugee status.

Slovene Deputy Discusses Economic Cooperation With USSR

AU2210183891 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Excerpts] A delegation consisting of the representatives of the Slovene Economic Chamber, Ljubljanska Bank, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has just returned from a visit to the Russian Federation and Belorussia. [passage omitted]

Our correspondent Sonja Znidarsic asked Gojka Ravbar, deputy foreign affairs minister, about the purpose of the visit and about the possibilities for the future cooperation with these markets:

[Begin recording] [Ravbar] The visit of our group was primarily a working one— to create conditions, that is to say, ensure that as many of these agreements [not further specified] as possible are actually realized. On this occasion we visited representatives of the ministries, that is to say, the administrative organs of their governments, and representatives of the banks. We also visited government officials at the level of the federal Government of the Soviet Union. Namely, certain problems still exist and still have to be resolved at this level.

[Znidarsic] You are probably referring to the problems arising from the transition of these markets on the convertible currency [konvertibilna valuta] payment operations. This transition took place at the new year?

[Ravbar] Well, this transition did take place at the new year, at least according to the regulations, but certain projects dragged on after New Year and are still dragging as these are old contracts. However, the problem was to secure payments after such projects have been completed. Namely, our companies were exporting [to the Russian Federation, Belorussia] and in some cases obtained the adequate certificates from the National Bank of Yugoslavia that the export has been realized, but the companies received no payments. Some companies were also not issued with these certificates. We tried to resolve this issue in our talks as well, especially with the representatives of the Mjeseconombanka in Moscow, which will in the future make the necessary contacts, that is to say, secure the realization of the unpaid old debts the Soviet Union has with their partners abroad. In this matter it is extremely important for us that we try to establish direct relations with the Soviet Union, that is to say, that our partners—I am referring to the partners from Slovenia—receive the debts that, for the time being, have not been paid off yet.

[Znidarsic] Does an interest to increase the exchange of goods exist on both sides?

[Ravbar] Yes, a mutual interest was clearly demonstrated in our talks. The representatives of Belorussia and of the Russian Federation alike received us with extreme hospitality and demonstrated a very high level of readiness for the mutual cooperation and the mutual resolving of all open questions that might arise or are arising from this mutual cooperation. We also reached some actual agreements about how to tackle problems and various issues. I believe that we will reach more agreements in the course of the future phases of cooperation, because I believe that this market is rather important for us. It is also the market on which we can purchase certain goods we are interested in and sell our own goods. However, it is also true that this is not a market abundant in foreign currency, and we will have to behave and organize ourselves accordingly. [end recording]

Rupel on Diplomatic Relations With Poland

AU2310130791 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] After his return from a two-day visit to Poland, Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel said that his visit actually represents the beginning of Polish-Slovene diplomatic relations. According to Rupel, Poland will recognize Slovenia independently if the Hague conference does not solve the problem soon. Rupel was also assured by the Polish authorities in Warsaw that from now on the citizens of Slovenia can travel to Poland with Slovene passports.

Maribor Slovene Democratic Alliance Convenes

AU2310131091 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Maribor members of the Slovene Democratic Alliance held a convention in Maribor last night. Igor Bavcar, Coordinator of the New Democratic Party of Slovenia, explained the split in the party and the future of the New Democratic Party of Slovenia. He also said that they would probably peacefully decide how to divide the assets of the former Slovene Democratic Alliance and its delegates in the parliament.

The convention was also attended by Peter Volasko, president of the Slovene Democratic Alliance-National Democratic Party, who said that his party was keeping the present program, but with some corrections, and that

only this party was the rightful successor to the former Slovene Democratic Alliance.

Croatia

Croatian Army Command Letter to SFRY Presidency

LD2210235191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Letter from the High Command of the Croatian Army sent today to the Yugoslav Presidency]

[Text] In connection with the report of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense on violations of the cease-fire sent to you on 22 October, we inform you that the claims made in that report are inaccurate and tendentious. The aim of the report is to transfer the entire responsibility for violations of the cease-fire agreement to the Croatian Army.

However, the truth is that so far the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] has used every cease-fire to regroup and bring in fresh forces from the territory of Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia- Hercegovina. All these forces, with the support of the Air Force and Navy have carried out offensive actions with the aim of destroying towns and cities, industrial facilities, and cultural and religious monuments. A part of the units withdrawn from the blockaded garrisons has been brought up to strength with new manpower and equipment, and is again being used from new positions in the aggression against the Republic of Croatia.

In the period referred to in the report of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense there are numerous examples of cease-fire violations and attacks by units of the YPA, Air Force and Navy against the forces of the Croatian Army, and we do not wish to enumerate or to comment on them. However, the destruction of Croatian towns such as Vukovar, Dubrovnik, Vinkovci, Osijek, Karlovac and others, and the destruction of industrial installations, in particular the refinery at Sisak, and the attacks on hospitals and the civilian population, all during cease-fires and truces, represents a precedent in the history of warfare and borders on genocide against a nation simply because it wants to live democratically and freely and to be master of its own affairs.

The claims of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense on the continuation of the blockade on garrisons and the prevention of the movement of Army personnel are not true. The members of the EC mission can assure themselves of this in person. At the same time, the blockade of the ports of Ploce and Dubrovnik has still not been lifted, and moreover they are still coming under fire from artillery weapons and warships. And for every threat that fire will be opened on units of the YPA, which continue to act aggressively, there is the threat that fire will be opened on vital installations in Zagreb and other major towns.

Thus, the report of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense is totally unacceptable and has only one aim, and that is to depict the Croatian Army as the instigator of conflicts and thereby win the approval of the domestic and world public for the continuation of the aggression against the Republic of Croatia.

At this very moment, as we write this, we are receiving reports that units of the YPA have taken the towns of Grabovac and Dreznik-Grad in the Slunj municipality and are advancing toward Slunj itself, says the letter of the High Command of the Croatian Army, which is signed by its head, Colonel General Anton Tus, and has been sent to Lord Carrington, Hans van den Broek, Van Houten, the FEC President, the president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the president of the Presidency of the Republic of Montenegro, the president of the Republic of Croatia, the president of the Republic of Macedonia, the president of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia, the president of the Republic of Serbia, and Lieutenant Colonel General Raseta.

Separovic on Belgrade's Mobilization Plans

LD2310143191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Interview with Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic by (Istvan Borcsok) on Belgrade's mobilization plans; place and date not given; Separovic speaks in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Separovic] In connection with the mobilization announced by the Yugoslav Presidency, I would like to emphasize that it has greatly affected everyone, though it will probably only apply to Serbia and Montenegro. We believe it will not be possible to carry it out in Bosnia and Macedonia. I think this is a desperate step on the part of Serbia, which likewise directs the Army and the truncated Presidency in order to show its antipathies towards Europe, the Europe that has decided the rules of play of the negotiations, chiefly the nations' right to independence and the banning of changes to inland borders by force. This is unacceptable to Serbia, which believes that it can determine the borders of the new Yugoslavia from the position of power. Positive processes have begun in Crna Gora, mainly those on account of which Milo Djukanovic, president of Montenegro, was obliged in The Hague to support the European proposal for a solution. We hope that these processes will extend to Serbia as well.

Ministry Says 97 Percent of Armed Forces Croatian

LD2210165791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Text] The Defense Ministry of the Republic of Croatia today announced that 97 percent of Croatian Army members and Internal Affairs Ministry forces who on all

battlefields are defending their country and its democracy, are citizens of the Republic of Croatia who have responded to mobilization calls on the basis of the national defense law and have temporarily changed their civilian clothes for uniforms. Among other officers, specialists, and volunteers, no more than 0.01 are foreign nationals, and even they are mainly of Croatian origin. The Defense Ministry has issued these figures instead of rebutting the latest campaign about an alleged enrollment of mercenaries and instructors of foreign secret services, or of the so-called black internationals, as reported by the Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI. It has been stressed that this is not surprising, but what is surprising is that this report has had reverberations in some British and Italian papers and in foreign news agency reports.

'All for All' Prisoner Exchange With Army Agreed

LD2310133491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] According to Croatian Deputy Defense Minister Ivan Milas, the Yugoslav Army has accepted a prisoner exchange on the basis of all for all. In negotiations with the Yugoslav Army, representative General Andrija Raseta said it was clear, however, that the Yugoslav Army could not assume responsibility for Croatian prisoners taken by Serbian guerrillas. Gen. Raseta did not, however, agree that the International Red Cross could oversee the treatment of prisoners and assist in the negotiations for exchange.

Serbia

No Agreement With Montenegro on Hague Meeting

LD2310175691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 23 October (TANJUG)—There has been no form of an agreement between the leaderships of Serbia and Montenegro on the eve of the plenary meeting in The Hague.

Regarding the formation of a future Yugoslavia and its system, there probably will not be any differences between these two republics. The principles will remain the same, and it is evident that the people in Montenegro and in Serbia will have identical stands irrespective of the views held by the leadership [in Montenegro].

Bulatovic's signature on the Hague plan on the global solution of the Yugoslav crisis is a kind of misunderstanding, and this will very soon be shown to be so.

This was said today by Serbian Vice Premier Dr Budimir Kosutic, during a regular press conference, when replying to the question whether the fact that Montenegro has accepted Lord Carrington's plan represents a coordinated tactical move by Serbia and Montenegro or an independent step by the Montenegrin leadership.

His views on this were also expressed by Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic who said that the whole thing should not be over-dramatized.

The fact that the peoples of the two republics " think in unison" need not be questioned. They will not be on different sides, it will not happen, Jovanovic said.

Serbian Government Proclaims Sandzak Referendum Illegal

AU2310152191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Marinela Raznatovic report from the Serbian Government's news conference in Belgrade—live]

[Text] [Studio announcer] We now have our colleague Marinela Raznatovic on the line. She is attending the news conference organized by the Serbian Government.

[Raznatovic] The news conference is still going on. This is a regular conference by the Serbian Government. The news conference is about what my colleague reported from the Serbian Assembly earlier. In other words, the Serbian Government has adopted stands regarding the announced referendum in Sandzak. We are talking about an unconstitutional act because one party, the Party of Democratic Action, proposes a referendum on the territory of two republics, Serbia and Montenegro. All Muslims would vote in the referendum, including those who used to live in Sandzak. According to Budimir Kosutic, vice president of the Serbian Government, this in fact represents a great opportunity to manipulate a number of Muslims, although according to the latest census, it is known that there are many more Serbs in Sandzak. Such a referendum could not be called even by the Republic of Serbia because the referendum encompasses, as we have already said, the citizens of two republics.

The representatives of the Serbian Government also held talks with the representatives of the government of Montenegro and established that their stands are identical with regard to the referendum.

At its session today, the government of the Republic of Serbia therefore decided to fulfill the obligations it has according to the Constitution and law with regard to the referendum. Answering a question about what this actually meant, Budimir Kosutic said that if a certain party takes measures that are against the Constitution of the republic, it creates the conditions to strike off this party.

[Studio announcer] Thank you. It was said that Vladislav Jovanovic, foreign minister of the Republic of Serbia, would also speak at the news conference. Did he?

[Raznjatovic] Yes he did. He spoke about yesterday's decision of the SFRY Presidency. I must say however that Budimir Kosutic spoke about this first. He said that it was a pity that such a decisive measure had not been

adopted before. Vladislav Jovanovic, minister of foreign affairs, expounded on this, saying that yesterday's moves by the SFRY Presidency are in line with The Hague proposal, that a certain Yugoslav association can establish closer cooperation.

This is all from the news conference.

Sandzak Autonomy Referendum 'Unconstitutional'

LD2310180991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1413 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—The planned referendum on the autonomy of Sandzak is contrary to the SFRY constitution and the constitution of Serbia and is a form of misuse of constitutionally established democratic rights and freedoms in order to destroy the coexistence of Serbs and Muslims in these areas.

This is stated in a report from the government of Serbia on the political-security situation in the municipalities of Novi Pazar, Tutin, Sjenica, Nova Varos, Prijepolje, and Priboj.

The report was sent today to deputies of the Serbian National Assembly. The Serbian government is recommending that parliament adopt a conclusion asking the Serbian judicial and defense organs to take the constitutionally envisaged measures against the organizers of the planned referendum and against the violators of the constitutional order in the republic.

The government also considers that the competent organs should be asked to examine proposals made at public meetings in the said municipalities which refer to the promotion of the coexistence of Serbs and Muslims in order to achieve national equality.

The report of the government of Serbia also says that in calling a referendum on the autonomy of Sandzak the leadership of the Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije] is inspired by the unilateral acts on secession from Yugoslavia of the two northwestern republics.

It is also stressed that the municipalities which supposedly comprise Sandzak in fact belong in part to Serbia and partly to Montenegro so that they do not form a territorial legal entity. Besides this, they have a majority of Serbs and not Muslims, the government report says.

Albania To Be Held Accountable on Kosovo

LD2310224791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2117 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 23 (TANJUG)—The foreign minister of Yugoslavia's biggest Republic of Serbia, Vladislav Jovanovic, says that Serbia will 'take every action possible in international fora in order that Albania should be taken to account for and take the consequences' of the decision taken by its parliament to recognize Kosovo as a republic.

Speaking at a press conference, Jovanovic described the Albanian parliament's decision to recognize Serbia's province of Kosovo as a republic, as a move 'crowning decades of Albania's anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav activity.'

'This is an act which cannot be tolerated under international law,' Jovanovic said.

Ethnic Albanians constitute the majority population in the province of Kosovo which has a common border with Albania.

Ethnic Albanian deputies to the Kosovo parliament unlawfully proclaimed their republic last year, after which parliament was dissolved.

Ethnic Albanian parties insist that a referendum was organized in Kosovo last month, at which most of the 1.6 million adult ethnic Albanians allegedly voted for the province to become a republic.

Head of Kosovo 'Government' Visits Germany

LD2410063491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1335 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Bonn, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—Head of the illegal "government" of the Yugoslav Kosovo province Bujar Bukoshi was on a visit to Germany, as learned in Bonn.

There was no official confirmation about the visit, but it has been learned that Bukoshi, "premier" of the province where ethnic Albanians made up the majority population, had contacts also at the Bonn Foreign Ministry.

The Bonn sources unofficially claim that this was a "working level visit". These were allegedly "only personal contacts", in a series of talks with partners from Yugoslavia, including also Kosovo Albanians.

It is also claimed that Bukoshi's visit "had nothing to do with his present function."

This was the first visit of Bukoshi abroad after he was appointed "premier" last week by the illegal Kosovo parliament, which was dissolved last year because of secessionist orientation.

Last month, again illegally, a referendum was carried out at which, as claimed by the parties rallying ethnic Albanians, the majority of the population of the province opted for "sovereign Kosovo."

Joining Albania was being mentioned as one of the options for the future of "sovereign Kosovo".

The parliament in Tirana on Tuesday recognized "Kosovo republic" and its "provisional government."

Kosutic Addresses Serbian Assembly

AU2310185391 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Speech by Budimir Kosutic, vice prime minister of the Serbian Government, at a session of the Serbian Assembly in Belgrade on 23 October—live; broadcast in progress]

[Text] ...was significantly bigger that the average in other communes in the Republic of Serbia. Because you are familiar with this fact, there is no need for me to present it here now. As regards the announced referendum itself, one should bear in mind the fact that it was announced that it would be held on the territories of two republics, the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Montenegro, that the party [of Democratic Action] has invited all citizens, Muslims, of course, who have lived there at any time or who live there now, to take part in the referendum, and that the aim of this referendum is essentially to change the borders of the two republics, and the creation, as the proclamation states, of an autonomous region, but which, according to the content of the proclamation, would be a state. This action fully corresponds to a similar action by the Party of Democratic Action in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The territory that was chosen—and the government has explained this in its report—has never existed in this form as such because, during the Ottoman Empire, there were two Sandzaks in that area, Pljevlja and Novi Pazar Sandzaks. Between the two wars, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia made a decision to create a regional committee for Sandzak. This regional committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, in fact, covered the territory of the two former Sandzaks, Novi Pazar and Pljevlja Sandzaks, as administrative units in the former Ottoman Empire.

During World War II, the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Sandzak was set up in Pljevlja in 1943. The council consisted of 49 Serbs and 13 Muslims. As known, Sjenica, Tutin, and Novi Pazar, the only towns where the citizens of Muslim nationality are in the majority, were part of Great Albania. Therefore, if one talks about whether such an entity and territory ever existed in the legal sense, one can say that it has never existed. I would also like to tell you that, according to the census and the lists of voters, Serbs constitute the majority of citizens in that territory. For these reasons, therefore, all citizens, including those who used to live there, are invited to vote in a referendum because in this way they want to artificially create a majority and completely illegally carry out some kind of referendum, whose aim is obviously to change the borders of two republics and to create a new state that will eventually accede to the independent Bosnia-Hercegovina in accordance with, as you know, the unconstitutional and illegally made decisions by the deputies from the ranks of the Croatian Democratic Community and the Party of Democratic Action in Sarajevo in contravention of the Constitution of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia.

During my visit to five communes, I saw that a significant number of Muslims were not in favor of the referendum, just as I established that there was an undemocratic, autocratic form of behavior toward all, particularly Muslims, who are expressing a different stand. Similarly, there is no need for me to tell you that the same group of 50 persons was always around. They behaved in an extremely uncivilized manner, but the majority of both the Serbian and the Muslim nationalities left their stamp on all these meetings with their dignified behavior and views, something that indeed convinced me that there is a need to talk about all issues, to analyze all possible suggestions, and, on the basis of this, to search and find solutions for full national equality and the broadest possible rights for the people and citizens in that region. Judging by what it has done so far, the Republic of Serbia has clearly shown this and fully realized what the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, in fact, states—namely, that the Republic of Serbia is a state of all of its citizens.

Therefore, I stress the following: The referendum that has been announced and started by the Party of Democratic Action contravenes the Constitution in terms of its aims, its organizer, the procedure according to which it is being adopted, and, especially, the territory on which it is being carried out, the territory of two of our republics.

This referendum is not in the interest of any people who live there, and it is obvious that its main purpose and aim is to cause a schism among the citizens and to facilitate the process of breaking up both Serbia and Yugoslavia and, in this sense, to join all other processes. I stress again that this is happening, even though, according to lists of voters, there are more Serbs and Montenegrins than Muslims in this region of the two republics. It was shown during my visits there that a significant number of Muslims are not in favor of the referendum but in favor of living together.

Therefore, the Government of the Republic of Serbia has proposed to the Assembly first to always carefully examine all proposals relating to greater cooperation and a better level of understanding among all those who live in this area. At the same time, the Government of the Republic points out the need to respect the Constitution and laws and, in this sense, to undertake all measures envisaged in the Constitution and the law.

Finally, I must also say that it has often been said in these talks that one party, the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Hercegovina, has proposed that a referendum on the rights of the Serbian people be held and that the Muslim people have not been allowed to do the same. This argument does not stand because, as you know, the Serbian people are not striving to break up Yugoslavia but, on the contrary, in those republics in which one people vote to secede from Yugoslavia, thinking that they have a right to do this as a people, the Serbian

people are only asking to remain in Yugoslavia on the same basis. Therefore, as you see, there are no similarities in this specific case and this fact should be considered.

The Government of the Republic of Serbia therefore remains loyal to its duties, which proceed from the Constitution, and actually hopes that the Assembly will support the statement by the Government of Serbia and the proposed conclusions in the same direction and in the same sense. This is particularly so because, in line with this, the government will take those measures that are based on the Constitution and the law in this case, solely with the intention of providing equal rights for all citizens regardless of their nationality and religion in every part of the territory of the Republic of Serbia.

Simovic Rejects Criticism of Mobilization

AU2310160391 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] On the occasion of the announcement issued by the Serbian Renewal Movement Executive Committee yesterday, which says among other things that the present mobilization in Serbia is unconstitutional because, as it is pointed out, according to the current SFRY Constitution mobilization should be carried out equally throughout the country, Lieutenant General Tomislav Simovic, defense minister of the Republic of Serbia, reacted with the following statement:

[Begin Simovic recording] Your protest against the question that is being asked regarding the responsibility of reservists and their officers is a shameful act equal to treason. I truly believe that your own children will condemn you for your destructive behavior. In fact, you are trying to manipulate these people. You persistently claim that you do not know what the aim of this war is. Shame on you. How many times should we repeat to you and your followers that the aim is to defend the western borders of this country, whatever it is called, to prevent the massacre of the Serbian population in Serbian Krajinas, and to liberate our sons, members of the Yugoslav People's Army imprisoned in barracks. Has this not already been made clear to everybody?

This is not an war of occupation on the part of Serbia. These people have never been aggressors. You are forgetting about our children, 18-year-old soldiers who are being killed on battlefields, and only one-third is of Serbian origin. You are forgetting about the children imprisoned in encircled barracks and camps who cannot send messages to their parents, and shamelessly call on their fathers not to respond to the mobilization and not to join volunteers.

Large material resources have been invested in training reservists for years, and you have claimed on certain occasions that our draftees are not trained, have called on them to leave technical equipment on the battlefield and to take arms and flee, and promised them that you will demand international protection, as well as address the conference in The Hague.

Why doesn't anyone from outside protect our children from the massacre by the Ustasha fighters' mercenaries? Why are you not talking about that? I cannot and will not believe that you are not wise enough to know that Croatia declared war on Yugoslavia and on the Yugoslav People's Army, so partial mobilization is being carried out only where conditions allow it according to the Constitution.

The Serbian people are not at war with the Croatian people. If a Serbian army is formed according to a law that is being worked on, this army will be new and pure [cist].

Nobody needs to knock on my door, it is always open to all well-intentioned people. Come and talk. Present your proposals and your defense concept and, believe me, I, your minister of defense, will gladly receive you and listen to you, because, one must negotiate even with the devil himself in order to prevent genocide from repeating itself, as Vuk Draskovic said on one occasion. This time, this will take place in the center of Serbia, because Serbia is now defending itself from behind its administrative borders with Croatia and, as early as tomorrow, it may be at toll gates on the threshold of Belgrade if we fail to strive toward our aims that have almost been reached.

You want to push this people into destruction, to impose on them something that they have never accepted in the past —shameful surrender and desertion. However, this people must be united where defense is concerned, regardless of our political aims. It must stand up to defend its honor with a view to saving itself. [end recording]

Serbian Refugees From Croatia Exceed 120,000

LD2310214991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0440 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 23 (TANJUG)—A total of 123,678 Serbian refugees from crisis areas in Croatia were registered in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia on Tuesday, which is 497 more than on the previous day, according to data of the Red Cross of Serbia.

The republican Red Cross also said that most of the registered refugees, 71,834, were in central Serbia. There were 50,874 refugees in Serbia's northern Province of Vojvodina and 984 in its southern Province of Kosovo and Metohija.

Prisoner Exchange Negotiations With Croatia

LD2310141291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1022 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—A total of 391 people including 332 conscripts, two reservists, and 57 active military personnel were captured in the Bjelovar

barracks, the Government of Serbia announced today in reply to a question by Delegate Batric Jovanovic (SPS) [Socialist Party of Serbia].

The International Red Cross has learned that those captured are being treated according to relevant international conventions. Their release, as well as the release of other people in captivity in Croatia, will depend on the outcome of negotiations being conducted with Croatian authorities, the Serbian Government stated in reply to a question by the same delegate.

Jovanovic was also told that the government of the Republic of Serbia was making special efforts wto obtain the release of all military personnel and members of their families. The exchange will be carried out on the basis of the principle "all for all" but excluding those persons who are under criminal investigation—those who are treated as war criminals.

At the proposal of Delegate Dragan Vidakovic (SPS), the Assembly will receive an initiative to pass the law providing for measures and priority tasks to improve the integration of the Novi Pazar and Sjenica region into Serbia. According to Vidakovic's proposal, the measures would include new roads, new industrial and cultural facilities, and other things. This would help the integration of the areas populated by Serbs, Muslims, and Montenegrins.

Delegate Mahmut Memic (SDA) [Party for Democratic Action] proposed that the decision to set up a committee for the protection and care of the Stari Ras and Sopocani [mediveal Serbian town and monastery] should also envisage the care of the three mosques in Novi Pazar as exceptional monuments of Islamic architecture which are in a very bad state.

Government Adopts Republican Railway Program

LD2310162391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0745 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 23 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Republic of Serbia has adopted a programme for the development of the Republic's railway.

The programme constitutes not only the revitalization and transformation of the Republic's railway into a business system, but also an opportunity to engage a large part of Serbia's economy, primarily the Republic's machine building industry, construction industry and power industry, as the Serbian Government has assessed.

The programme envisages that the fast railway tracks Subotica- Belgrade-Nis-Dimitrovgrad with a section towards Greece as well as the Valjevo-Loznica line be built by the end of this year. The project includes the construction of railway hubs in Belgrade, Novi Sad and Subotica.

The Serbian Government has also made a draft law, under which the obligations of the railway enterprise Beograd would be taken over and bonds issued so that the enterprise could financially consolidate and be prepared for market dealings.

The government will by the end of 1991 examine programmes for the development of public enterpises in the field of the power industry, travelling industry, water management, PTT, and radio and television.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

11,500 Women, Children Evacuated From Dubrovnik

LD2310214891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1829 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Herceg Novi, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—The information service of the Boka naval sector announced this evening that, in the past few days, 11,500 women and children have been evacuated from Dubrovnik by boat in the direction of Split.

Today only 11 refugees—six children, two mothers, and three old women—arrived in Cavtat from Dubrovnik on the same boat that brought the members of the EC mission. They are being cared for by the Herceg Novi Red Cross.

'Energy Death' Possibly 10-15 Days Away

LD2310181391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1456 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—The dramatic situation in the Bosnia-Hercegovina economy caused by the current communication blockade and the problems with the Adriatic pipeline were the focus of talks today between Fikret Abdic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, and Bozidar Matic, chairman of the board of management of the Energoinvest Holding.

The blockade of roads and the Port of Ploce and the idle pipeline could, if not tackled as soon as possible, lead to the so-called energy death of the republic in about 10 to 15 days, as well as to the extinction of its most vital economic and industrial functions. In addition to other effects this could lead to intolerable social and other problems.

Bosnian Serbs Plan To Set Up Own Assembly

AU2310133491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Serbian deputies in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly will set up an assembly tomorrow of the Serbian people of this republic so that the Serbs living in Bosnia-Hercegovina can legally express their will. This was stated in a communique by the club of deputies of the Serbian Democratic Party and the Serbian Renewal Movement.

The communique points out that this moves was inevitable because all institutional means for guaranteeing living on equal footing in Bosnia-Hercegovina have been exhausted. A new form of working had to be found in order to protect Serbs from majoritarianism and the imposition of political will by force.

Montenegro

Assembly Extends Support to Presidency

LD2310085791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2208 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Text] Titograd, October 22 (TANJUG)—Parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro has supported the Yugoslav Presidency and the Army in their efforts to prevent a civil war in the country, it was announced here on Tuesday. The support was extended at a parliamentary session held on October 4, and its decisions were published today.

The Montenegrin parliament upheld the incomplete Yugoslav Presidency in its determination to carry on its duties as the political and Army leader of the country, in keeping with the Federal Constitution.

The Montenegrin parliament also fully upheld the state and Army leadership in their "intention to prevent a civil war, inter-ethnic conflicts and genocide of the Serbian people, members of the Yugoslav Army in the occupied Army barracks and members of their families."

As assessed by the republican parliament, "Ustasha neo-fascist formations of the Republic of Croatia are waging an undeclared war against Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav People's Army" and the state organs of Montenegro have therefore been ordered to "energetically eliminate all attempts at destabilizing this republic."

The parliament accused the Croatian authorities of territorial claims towards Boka Kotorska and other regions in Montenegro, warning that Croatia had imposed a war on the Army in the border area.

The People's Party of Montenegro, the leading opposition party in Montenegro, on Tuesday requested parliament to discuss the republic's position taken at The Hague conference on October 18 before it should continue work.

The party, which advocates unification of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, most strongly criticized the republican leaders for betrayal of national interests after they accepted the E.C. proposal for the Yugoslav republics to be recognized as independent states and for reducing Yugoslavia to an economic and customs union.

The Yugoslav People's Party, the Party of Socialists of Montenegro and the Independent Organization of Communists of Montenegro requested at a press conference today that the competent organs in the republic bring back home the Montenegrin reservists on the battlefronts, with regard to the republic's acceptance of The Hague document as a "peace charter." The three parties welcomed the preparedness of the republican authorities to accept the document.

Bulatovic Explains Actions at Hague

AU2310191791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] The guest of the Open Studio program of Montenegrin Radio today was Momir Bulatovic, president of the Montenegrin Presidency. Bulatovic was answering the questions posed by listeners regarding the Hague Declaration and the situation in Montenegro and Yugoslavia. For our program the News of the Day [1400 GMT newscast], we have taken an excerpt from Bulatovic's answer to the question about the confusion caused by his stance at The Hague:

[Begin Bulatovic recording] First, I will say that as soon as I announced my personal decision, a major avalanche of political conflicts, misunderstandings, speculations, and calculations started. I must remind the Montenegrin people that a live radio and television relay allowed them to learn about the agreement on a global solution. The people could also learn about the main positions and an overall view held by the peoples' deputies in the Assembly. When it became evident that it would be very difficult to make a rational decision, I proposed to the Montenegrin Presidency that, to protect the Assembly and give it a chance to judge my actions in a situation burdened with so much risk, the Assembly not take a stance but rather that I assume this responsibility. This was no heroic deed or misuse of power. I think that this was a very rational step because I, as an individual, make mistakes—and people do make mistakes, especially when facing such dilemmas—the price we would have to pay by deposing myself from this post would be much less than it would be to call and organize new elections, dissolve the Assembly, and in the current circumstances create a climate that would not be beneficial to the Montenegrin citizens. [end recording]

You have heard what the president of the Montenegrin Presidency said in the The Open Studio program of Montenegrin Radio. Momir Bulatovic also said that a debate will begin at tomorrow's session of the Montenegrin Assembly about the positions he had advocated in The Hague, adding that he neither accepted nor rejected the declaration.

Bulatovic Talks to Milosevic

LD2310185991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1601 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Titograd, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—"There are no personal reasons for a split between us," Momir Bulatovic, president of the Montenegrin Presidency, said in reply to a question on whether he met Slobodan

Milosevic after the Hague conference. The question was asked during an interview on Montenegrin Radio today.

"What links us together are memories of both long-lasting and current successful cooperation. When the Hague conference finished we sat together for hours discussing things. Afterwards, we met on several occasions," Bulatovic said in an almost three-hour program in which he answered questions in connection with his stand at the Hague conference and the political situation which resulted from it.

In Bulatovic's words, it is just that he and Slobodan Milosevic have different views on how to achieve the same goal. He expressed conviction that on the basis of today's meeting, on the basis of the future activities and the course of the Hague conference, all these illusions which exist in the public—that there is some kind of a quarrel, that we don't wish to talk to each other—will be quickly dispersed, leaving no room for any doubt.

Replying to a question on whether giving consent to the Hague agreement is a tactical move, i.e. whether it has been agreed with Tudjman that Prevlaka will be gained in exchange for consenting to the Hague agreement or whether it is an option adopted to prevent Serbia's economic blockade via Montenegro, Momir Bulatovic stressed that the agreement with Tudjman with regard to the above is absolutely not at issue. He added that he talked to Tudjman after the Hague conference and that the conversation was not pleasant for either of them. In this connection he also said that it is their duty to ignore all personal animosities and that he and Tudjman must not quarrel because hundreds of lives on both sides would be lost as a result. We must invest the maximum effort in trying to find a peaceful solution. "In a word, we did not trade with Mr Tudjman and we passed this decision exclusively on our own, on the basis of the assessments which we still believe to be realistic," Bulatovic said.

In reference to the Prevlaka [peninsula] and to the recent public explanation of his resignation by Dr Gavro Perazic as Montenegro representative in the Hague conference expert group, Bulatovic announced that a meeting between parliamentary delegations of Croatia and Montenegro can be expected tomorrow. According to him, this meeting will be an important step toward resolving the controversial issue of Prevlaka and a gesture of goodwill and interest in defusing the tension on that part of the battle front.

Bulatovic takes the view that Perazic has misinterpreted the efforts to reach a peaceful solution based on mutual agreement by using the issue of Prevlaka and the need to correct that border. When the Montenegro Assembly opted for this solution, it invoked articles of the existing constitutions of the SFRY and the Republic of Montenegro which state that borders between republics can be changed by mutual agreement.

The president of the Montenegro Presidency made special reference to the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. He stressed that it is in the vital interest of the Montenegro citizens to ensure that the conflict does not spill over into the territory of the neighboring republic. In this context Bulatovic stressed that a slight injustice is being committed by those who insist on putting the interests of the Serbian nation in the forefront. "But because of our national structure, we in Montenegro see the need for a genuine and full agreement between the Serbian and the Muslim people as being of exceptional importance." Momir Bulatovic warned that hopes for a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis would be illusory unless such a solution is reached in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Macedonia

Presidency Member Tupurkovski Visits Germany

LD2410073291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1907 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Bonn, October 23 (TANJUG)—Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the Yugoslav Presidency from the Republic of Macedonia, arrived here today and went straight to a meeting with representatives of the two leading German parties, the Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats.

Later, Tupurkovski will join in the work of an international congress in Wolfsburg discussing the subject of Europe and the changing world.

He will speak about Macedonian views on European processes at the congress, attended by prominent figures of European political, academic and cultural life.

Tupurkovski is expected to meet with German President Richard von Weizsaecker and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, as well as with German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.